

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

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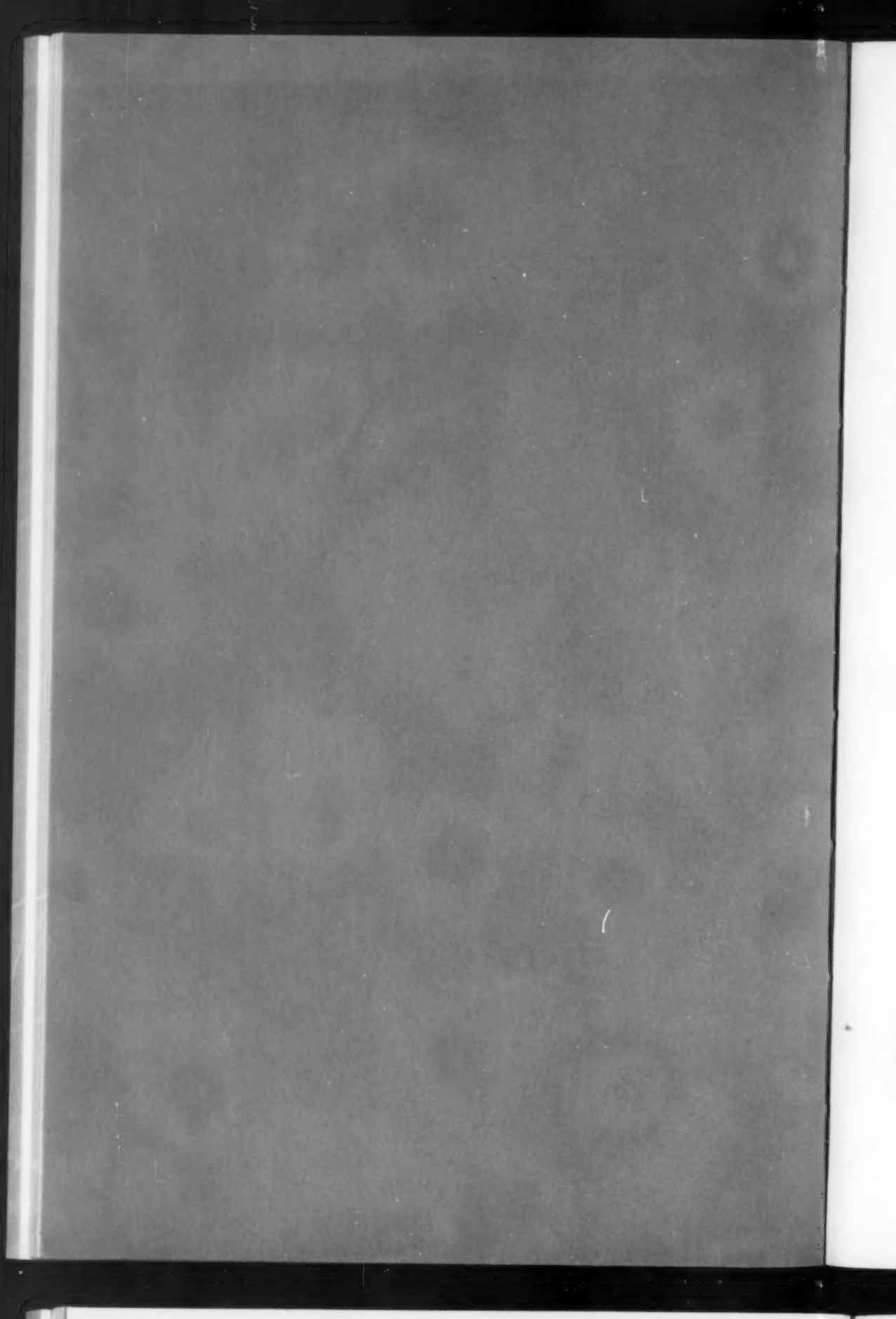
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The Paxton Boys: Parkman's Use of the Frontier Hypothesis

Fifty years of the life of Francis Parkman were expended in discovering, gathering, and portraying the picture of contest for the North American Continent. He wove the story of Colonial New France and the British continental colonies, with the American Indian in the middle, into a dozen volumes collectively called *France and England in America*. He has been subsequently styled as "the Herodotus of American history" and also as belonging properly to the school of literary historians. Parkman had a genius for literary expression, the accurate portrayal of geographic scenes, the sharp outlining of characters, and the organization of events into a coherent unity. *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, from which the subject incident of this study is taken, is actually Parkman's epilogue to the struggle between France and England in North America. It was the first of his important historical writings to be published. Generally speaking, his volumes are accurate, well told tales which furnish evidence of that frayed but strong historical cord which has been repeatedly wrapped around the bundle of western advance and repeatedly slashed at—the frontier hypothesis.

Most students of American history are familiar with the vast and continuous amount of published material which has settled around us as a result of Fredrick Jackson Turner's original paper. It might be clarifying to note some of the broad implications arising from

Note. This paper received the annual undergraduate award at the annual regional meeting of Phi Alpha Theta, history honor society, which was held last March on the campus of the University of Southern California in Los Angeles and noticed in the *Pacific Historical Review*, XXIII (May, 1954), 218-219. Editor.

sixty years' scholarship on frontier influence in American history. We might say, in general definition, that the frontier is "the cutting edge of civilization"; that in its westering progress the frontier formed a fence, from the east side of which the grass and free land always looked greener to the West. It was, in many respects, the boundary between savagery and civilization. As set forth by Turner, the frontier hypothesis supposes an order of general settlement: the fur trader, the cattleman, the miner, the farmer, the urbanite. The thesis supposes that the experience of possessing, occupying, and transforming a frontier was an enormously important determinant in American life. It transformed the pioneer himself; he became a new type of American while he was making a new America. Beyond this, the new country and the new occupant never quite lost the effect of the experience as the frontier passed. The West was always an urgent claimant upon the eastern portions. Pioneers, unified by common experiences, problems, and needs, were incessant and relentless in their assumption that the Government was under obligation to help them.

These initial implications, if kept in mind, are useful in picturing the extent to which the frontier hypothesis is demonstrated by the saga of "the Paxton boys."

Men of Paxton and Donegal, Pennsylvania, were hardy frontiersmen, with all that the words imply. They formed a class of striking and peculiar character. They were farmers or warriors or hunters as the occasion called. Concerning the business, the mechanics of cultured life, they knew little and cared less. They lived in a world of their own which contained all they felt necessary for survival. They were, in the words of Parkman, "willful, headstrong, and quarrelsome; frank, straight-forward and generous; brave as the bravest, and utterly intolerant of arbitrary self-control."¹

Taking our Indians as we do, from the movies and museums, it is not easy to conceive the force and depth of that unquenchable, indiscriminate hate which Indian outrages awoke in those who suffered from them. In the year 1763, attacks were falling all along the thinly settled valleys leading down to the Susquehanna. Two thousand persons had been killed or carried off and nearly an equal

¹ Francis Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Boston, 1917, II, 89. The edition used for all the Parkman references is the New Library Edition, Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1917. For an excellent interpretation of Parkman's writings, see Otis A. Pease, *Parkman's History, the Historian as Literary Artist*, New Haven, 1953.

number of families driven from their homes.² Parkman tells us, in narrating the *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, an episode of those forays³ which illustrates the hardships that the early Scotch-Irish pioneers endured.

Pennsylvania's frontier people, in agony over the long punishment, were divided between rage against the Indians and resentment against the Quakers who had offered them empty sentiments and pious, quibbling aid. In control of the Philadelphia Assembly at that time, the Quakers stood resolutely on their pacifist principles. Philadelphia was safe from the scalping knife and the Quaker Assembly turned away Western pleas with the galling assurance that the frontiersmen's own quarrelsome actions caused all the trouble. A militia of seven hundred was voted, and then forbidden to engage in offensive operations or move beyond the settled points.

At the manor of Conestoga, near the Susquehanna and the modern town of Lancaster, a small band of Indians of the Iroquois nation resided. Long friendly with the English, they were under the governor's protection. By this date they amounted to only twenty persons, and lived off the sale of woven goods. Locally they were regarded as harmless and pitiable, yet some evidence exists to show that a few of them were in league with their more warlike brothers to the Northwest.

Paxton town stood on the east bank of the Susquehanna, near Conestoga, and in a position of rank exposure to Indian attack. Rumors, natural in such a tense atmosphere, flew through the areas of Paxton and Donegal: the Philadelphians refused to fight because war would interfere with their fur trade; a group of peaceful Moravian Indians in nearby Northampton County were harboring raiding parties; and worst of all, the Conestoga Indians to the South, in Lancaster County, were supplying their brothers with guns. Frontier blood was up. A mob of fifty armed and mounted men descended on the harmless Conestogans December 13, 1763, butchering six and maiming several more. The Quaker Assembly was horrified. Governor Thomas Penn issued a proclamation denouncing the act. Warrants were issued for the arrest of "the Paxton boys," ordering them brought east to Philadelphia to stand trial for the cold-blooded murders. The men of Paxton, however, were at a fever pitch. They determined to continue the work they had begun.

² Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, II, 125.

³ The following narrative is contained in great detail and more effective style in Volume II of Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*. The factual material above is based on this narrative.

After the killing, the remaining Indians had been conducted, by the townspeople, to the stout, stone jail in Lancaster.⁴

The 27th of December came, bitter with light driving snow. At about three o'clock in the afternoon, the rioters, in the words of Parkman:

. . . armed with rifle, knife, and tomahawk, rode at a gallup into Lancaster; ran to the jail, burst open the door, and rushed tumultuously in. The fourteen Indians were in a small yard . . . surrounded by a high stone wall . . . In a moment the yard was filled with ruffians, shouting, cursing, and firing upon the cowering wretches; holding the muzzles of their pieces, in some instances, so near their victims' heads that the brains were scattered by the explosion. The work was soon finished. The bodies of men, women, and children, mangled with outrageous brutality, lay scattered about the yard; and the murderers were gone.⁵

After their previous attitude the stoic Quakers must have quivered with outrage when the news reached Philadelphia. The blood-letting seemed to stir the frontier unrest, which now became focused upon the Christian Indians attached to the Moravian missionaries. Suspicion fastened on them with the series of Indian forays which marked the beginning of Pontiac's war. In November, before the Conestoga massacre, the Quaker Assembly had provided that the mission Indians be moved to the protection of Philadelphia. The persecuted exiles walked, the aged, the sick, and the young—seventy-five bitter miles to the city. Shrinking together like a flock of miserable sheep, they were moved to an island in the Delaware River, under a bodyguard of Quakers.

Now alarm spread among the citizens of Philadelphia. The men of Paxton and Donegal were marching on the town, determined to finish the bloody business. They bore no respect for the paper-weight Pennsylvania militia. Quaker pacifist principles were forgotten. Arms were collected and middle aged Ben Franklin became the moving spirit of the day. With dispatch the citizens were organized into six armed companies—the common mob, Presbyterians, and Quakers all in together. A barricade went up across the great square; cannon were planted to sweep the streets. There was

⁴ Of value for the psychology of the times is a pamphlet published by Benjamin Franklin subsequent to this attack. It furnishes an excellent insight into the Quaker attitude on frontier retaliation and also presents a rather fanciful report of the attack; yet the pamphlet illustrates the persuading style of Franklin and is entertaining reading. An original copy is in the Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

⁵ Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, II, 135.

one defensive oversight: a ferry passage across the Schuylkill was left to chance. The Paxton men hurried across in the early dawn and down the road to Philadelphia. Learning what was in store for them ahead, they halted at Germantown. A stalemate ensued for three days. On the fourth, Franklin with two other respected citizens arrived in Germantown. One last attempt was to be made to quiet the frontiersmen and persuade them to depart.

The peace parley was a success. The rioters were dissuaded in their now futile plans for Philadelphia. The government, through Franklin, assured them a hearing. Two papers, a "Declaration" and a "Remonstrance," were drawn up, addressed to the Governor and the Assembly. The men of Paxton and Donegal turned west across the icy Schuylkill. Two settlers, one Smith and one Gibson, represented the frontiersmen and laid before the Assembly their long memorial. The document clearly demonstrated the clash between the frontier and the settled East. Here is what Parkman said of it:

Various grievances were specified for which redress was demanded. It was urged that those counties where the Quaker interest prevailed sent to the assembly more than their due share of representatives. The memorialists bitterly complained of a law then before the assembly, by which those charged with murdering Indians were to be brought to trial, not in the district where the act was committed. But in one of the three Eastern counties. . . . The Quakers, they insisted, had held private treaties with the Indians, encouraged them to hostile acts, and excused their cruelties on the charitable plea that this was their method of making war.⁶

A public hearing was to be held, but the Governor would not agree. Sullen, the Paxton representatives left the city. The Assembly soon became involved in its eternal quarrel with the executive, this time over the granting of supplies for an ensuing military campaign. The excitement of the late winter passed. The frontier became engrossed in the emotion of a new war against the Indians in other quarters.

The Paxton affair, then, ended in actual legal demands being made upon the Pennsylvania Assembly. The frontiersmen had shown their tempers and their fighting strength. A rugged republicanism was in the making, a system of representation which was to pass through its own frontier of evolution toward a new type of democracy. The Paxtonian influence upon the assembly was a single celled phase in the beginning of an evolutionary process which

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 165-166.

paralleled that undergone by the immigrant European who tilled the fertile soil of the frontier. Speaking of the European, Turner, in his original frontier paper said:

It [the frontier] strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Iroquois and runs an Indian palisade around him. Before long he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing with a sharp stick; he shouts the war cry and takes the scalp in orthodox Indian fashion. In short, at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the conditions which it furnishes, or perish. . . . Little by little he transforms the wilderness, but the outcome is not simply the old Europe . . . the fact is, that here is a new product which is American.⁷

Are "the Paxton boys" the result of the frontier environment that is too strong for the man? Are they an ideal picture of the earliest flux in the transition to national heritage; or is Parkman, here again, merely the historian of the episode, "having" as Mason Wade says, "romantic devotion to the great man or great idea theory of history."⁸

It appears that Francis Parkman was an evolutionist, as later disciples of frontier importance had to be. As such, he wrote a message into his words in terms of cause and effect. He states his philosophy in these words: "Not institutions alone, but geographical position, climate and many other conditions unite to form the educational influences, that acting through successive generations, shape the character of nations and communities."⁹

In Parkman's works as a whole one will note examples of evolutionary recognition which antedate, in a remarkable way, the later frontier hypothesis. In a chapter on Canadian absolutism, Parkman speaks out on the despotism of New France. The great interior wilderness, however, gave the colonists a measure of independent outlook and freedom which allowed them to rebel.¹⁰ "The peasants, the roving bushranger; the half-tamed savage, . . . priests; friars, nuns, and soldiers . . ." ¹¹ mingled to form a new society born of the freedom of the forest; out of which came a spirit of insubordination.

On the peculiarity of the Pennsylvania pioneer and his varied national background Parkman has this to say directly: "Long resi-

⁷ F. J. Turner, *Significance of the Frontier in American History*, from *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, December 14, 1893.

⁸ Mason Wade (ed.), *Journals of Parkman*, New York, 1947, II, xii.

⁹ Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, Boston, 1914, 461.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 462-468.

¹¹ Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Boston, 1917, I, 25.

dence in the province had modified their national character, and imparted many of the peculiar traits of the American backwoodsman."¹²

With respect to the environmental modification of New England, he declared:

Its people were purely English . . . but their original character had been modified by changed conditions of life . . . the struggle for existence on a hard and barren soil; and the isolation of a narrow village life,—joined to produce, in the meaner sort, qualities which were unpleasant, and sometimes repulsive.¹³

Parkman has been accused of over-indulgence in Indians as a youth.¹⁴ He stands, however, as the first historian to give them anything like their proper place in history. In commenting on the exit of the Jesuits from Canadian mission activity, he recognized that the Jesuit failure was primarily caused by the fierce and continuing antagonism of the Iroquois. If subdued, the Iroquois loyalty might have formed a backbone against English encroachment. Parkman seems to recognize, as does the frontier thesis, the influence of that traditional barrier—the Indian.¹⁵

Writing in the introduction to *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Francis Parkman notes the part already played by the frontier areas in world affairs. He speaks of the interrelation of the Seven Years' war in Europe and America. Said Voltaire, ". . . a cannon shot fired in America gave the signal that set Europe in a blaze." "Not quite," says Parkman, "It was not a cannon-shot, but a volley from the hunting pieces of a few backwoodsmen commanded by a Virginia youth, George Washington."¹⁶

The author of "the Paxton boys" was an evolutionist, or in a sense a follower of Social Darwinism; but he did not place his chief reliance on racial heredity and self-determined growth. He looked for the influence of environment. Parkman felt that it was not the self-unfolding of imported institutions, but rather the events that took place on native grounds that decided the course of American development. As a parallel, we can see in the frontier hypothesis

¹² Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, II, 91.

¹³ Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 28-29.

¹⁴ Mason Wade, *Francis Parkman, Heroic Historian*, New York, 1942, 16.

¹⁵ Parkman, *Jesuits of North America*, Boston, 1914, 551-552.

¹⁶ Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 5.

that Turner felt evolution in social America had been a repeated return to primitive conditions on a continually receding frontier line.

Let us consider some of what Turner records as the chief frontier traits which set it apart and contributed to the national heritage. He says:

The West, wherever found at different years thought of itself and of the nation in different ways from those of the East. It needed capital and was a creditor section . . . Living under conditions where the family was the self sufficing economic unit, where the complications of more densely settled society did not exist, without accumulated inherited wealth, the frontier regions stressed the rights of man, while the men who voiced the interests of the East stressed the rights of property."¹⁷

Turning to the memorials of "the Paxton boys" we find the same traditional, common demands mirrored. The memorial of 1764 demanded the right to share in political privileges with the older part of the colony. It protested against apportionment by which the counties of Chester, Bucks and Philadelphia, together with the city of Philadelphia, elected twenty-six delegates, while the five frontier counties had but ten.¹⁸ The frontier protested the failure of the dominant Quaker party to protect the West against the Indians. As usual, the three old counties feared the growth and power of the West. It could be inferred that the memorial's demand of payment for Indian scalps represented the traditional western attitude of making an economic gain without too much inquiry into the morality of the dollar produced.

We have traced the story of "the Paxton boys" and connected it with common elements of the frontier hypothesis. The study shows, with little doubt, that the narrative historian Francis Parkman was aware of the implication that the frontier area was a stage of society rather than a place, and he included the Paxton episode with an eye to its value as a common denominator.

It is a long step from Parkman to Turner, yet Theodore Roosevelt admitted that Parkman furnished the interest leading to Roosevelt's book *The Winning of the West*.¹⁹ Some day a scholar

¹⁷ F. J. Turner, *Significance of Sections in American History*, New York, 1932, 23-25.

¹⁸ Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, II, 392-404. Appendix of this volume contains copies of the "Declaration" and "Remonstrance."

¹⁹ The opinion is expressed by Joe Patterson Smith in the essay on Francis Parkman in the *Jernegan Essays in American Historiography*, Chicago, 1937, 59. The letter from Roosevelt to Parkman is found in Henry D. Sedgwick's *Francis Parkman*, Boston, 1904, 259-260. Roosevelt writes on April 23, 1888: "I am engaged on a work of which the first

may trace the influence, if any, which Roosevelt's works had on Turner. If a connection can be shown, Parkman may possibly be designated as the deepest root in the family tree of frontier historians.

DEAN MOOR

University of California
Santa Barbara College

part treats the extension of our frontier westward and southwestward during the twenty odd years from 1774 to 1796. . . .

I should like to dedicate this to you. Of course I know that you would not wish your name to be connected, in even the most indirect way, with any but good work and I can only say, that I will do my best to make the work creditable. . . ."

On April 10, 1895, some seven years later Roosevelt wrote to Turner commenting on the latter's essay, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, saying: "I was very much struck with your pamphlet. I hope you will write a serious work on the subject." This quotation is from the Turner papers in the Harvard College Library and is excerpted from copies of the Roosevelt letters in the files of Professor Wilbur R. Jacobs of the University of California, Santa Barbara College.

Document

The Potawatomi Mission 1854

Introduction

Exactly one hundred years ago a Swiss Jesuit missionary assigned to the Mission of St. Mary, Kansas, in the Jesuit Vice-Province of Missouri, wrote a long letter to his former spiritual director in Rome at the time. The name of the missionary was Maurice Gailland and the spiritual guide was Franz Xavier Huber. The two had not seen each other for ten years, and Father Gailland could presume that Father Huber did not know much about Kansas, St. Mary's or the Potawatomi. Therefore he wrote an account of fundamental things, giving details which are generally a godsend to historians. He writes of the country as a native of Kansas, of its animals, plants, climate, the people and their savage customs, their faults and virtues, of the national political situation and the possible results of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and last on the Potawatomi Mission itself, the Apostolic Vicar, the priests, brothers, and nuns and their labor for the salvation of Indian souls.

Father Huber kept the letter in its envelope among his papers. The address is written: Via New York et Liverpool, Monsieur l'Abbé F. X. Huber, Collège Romain, Europe, Italy, Rome. Huber was the spiritual father to the students in the German College in Rome, and when he died in this capacity in 1871 the letter wandered somehow into the archives of the famous College, where it was conserved well among the innumerable papers of the large collection called: Letters of Old Students to the College, 1818-1914. Many an archivist may have seen the letter, but none knew who Gailland was; each put it back in its alphabetic place. There it stayed. Moreover, although numerous scholars doing research on the mission and Church history of the United States have utilized documents from the various Roman archives including those of the German College no one seems to have thought of those in the "old students" collection. At least this letter of Gailland has been completely ignored. Thus, even Father Gilbert J. Garraghan in gathering materials for his history of the Jesuits has no mention of this precious letter although he collected very assiduously all he could find on Gailland.¹ It

¹ Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., *The Jesuits in the Middle United States*, 3 Volumes, New York, 1938.

seems fitting now both as a tribute to the pioneer missionary in Kansas and as a memorial of the stirring events transpiring a hundred years ago to publish the text of the letter and a translation.

During the period of the papal suppression of the Society of Jesus, 1773-1814, many of the Jesuits who had been previously employed in schools, parishes and missions, became diocesan clergy and continued their work especially in the Eastern States. One, John Carroll, became the first Bishop of Baltimore in 1789. In cooperation with Father Gabriel Grüber, who was General of the Jesuits in Russia where the papal edict of suppression could not be promulgated, Carroll caused the erection of the "Mission of the United States of America," in the year 1804. After the decree was promulgated in June, 1806, the Order expanded in numbers in Europe, and many new members came to the American mission field.

The Order was completely restored to its former status in 1814 and its growth and activity were remarkable. In 1823 they were invited westward to Missouri to take over the missions among the Indians. After establishing the College of St. Louis, now St. Louis University, in 1829, the mid-west Jesuits were constituted first the Mission of Missouri in 1831 and next the Vice-Province of Missouri in 1840. Among the staff of workers we find a number of Belgians and Dutchmen, most famous of whom were Fathers Peter De Smet, Christian Hoecken, and Felix Verreydt, whose activities included the whole of the Missouri Valley. Soon fathers of the Province of Upper Germany appeared, many of whom were Swiss, whose numbers increased notably after the exile of the Jesuits from Switzerland in 1847.

At first the missionaries were assigned to parochial work for Catholics in the rapidly increasing population of European origin. Yet they had a constant eye on an ultimate destiny to evangelize the pagan Indians to the west. There as the Whites moved in the Indians were compelled to leave their hunting grounds for lands farther west. The despoiled Indians were generally branded as savages, but to the missionaries they were souls to be civilized and christianized. De Smet was prominent among many missionaries who were ever drawing the attention of Europeans to these most needy peoples.

The Potawatomi had made their exodus from the Lake Michigan region in 1838 including those from Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin to the number of some sixteen hundred and had gone to their new reservations in Iowa and Kansas. There were

many Catholics among them, for the tribe had been cared for successively by three diocesan priests of pioneer fame, Fathers Stephen Badin, L. Deseille, and Benjamin Petit. It was the latter who shared their expulsion from the St. Joseph River mission, Michigan, and accompanied them to their new homes. This done he transferred his spiritual charge to the Dutch Jesuit missionary, Christian Hoecken.² Shortly after this there were Jesuits at both Potawatomi reservations, at Council Bluffs in far southwestern Iowa and at Sugar Creek on the Osage River in far east Kansas.

In 1846 the Government had plans to move the tribe elsewhere from both places.³ In that year the two groups agreed by treaty to sell their lands and move to a common reservation on the Kansas River between present Topeka and Manhattan, Kansas. The move was completed by 1848 and St. Mary's Mission was in the center of the new reservation. The Jesuit missionaries at Council Bluffs and at Sugar Creek were to go with the Indians. To find out their status and to get instructions from their Vice-Provincial at St. Louis, Father Hoecken sent Father Felix Verreydt to St. Louis in July, 1848.

It is at this point of the story that we meet Father Gailland. When Verreydt arrived at St. Louis he met some of the Jesuits who had been banished from Switzerland and had made their way to the New World. Verreydt tried to obtain all of the exiles for the new mission but succeeded in getting Gailland. The two made their way west, stopped at Sugar Creek for a visit, and arrived at St. Mary's in August, 1848.

After the treaty of 1848 the Potawatomi did not care to move to the new site, partly because they judged the area unsuitable for lack of timber, and partly through fear of the marauding Pawnee, who apparently considered their new neighbors as intruders and therefore as objects of attack and robbery. In 1847 fear of the Pawnee and Sioux forced the Potawatomi to go far south of the Kansas River where a mission was established outside the reservation. Thus, the St. Mary's mission, north of the Missouri, was begun only on September 9, 1848.⁴ In the next Spring the missionaries built their church, naming it St. Mary of the Immaculate

² Gailland to the Conseil de la Propagation de la Foi, November 13, 1851, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Vol. 24, Lyon, 1852, 228 f.

³ Garraghan, II, 596; the story of the various removals of the Potawatomi and their early connections with Jesuit missionaries dating back to the seventeenth century is given in Garraghan; Gailland also knew of the work done by his predecessors with this particular tribe.

⁴ *The Dial*, St. Mary's, Kansas, II, (1891), Number 6, 85. The sources used in this magazine are here Gailland's diary and history, described below.

Conception. From then the mission was called St. Mary's,⁵ and long after, when St. Mary's College was established the college magazine, *The Dial*, published the story of its Indian beginnings in its Volume I, 1890.

Father Gailland's arrival in the United States in 1848 coincides with the foundation of St. Mary's. Until his death, twenty-nine years later, he spent his life aiding in the spiritual and temporal welfare of his beloved Potawatomis in Kansas. He had been born on October 27, 1815, in Bagnes, a small Alpine village of the Canton of Wallis in Switzerland. On his twenty-ninth birthday he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Estavayer, whose German name is Stäffis, where Father Aloys Goeffroy was Master of Novices for the Province of Upper Germany. Candidates for the Society from Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland had to undergo their probationary period in this house. After pronouncing his religious vows he went to the College of Fribourg for courses in Philosophy in 1836. Three years later he was sent to Estavayer to teach grammar to the boys of the college there for three years. Back to Fribourg he studied theology during the years 1842-1846. In 1845 or 1846 he was ordained priest and for awhile taught grammar in the College of Fribourg.⁶ In November, 1847, by decree of the anti-clerical government the expulsion of the Jesuits was carried out. The College and other Jesuit properties were confiscated.

The heavy blows struck at the Order in Switzerland turned out to be fortunate for the Church in America.⁷ The Provincial of the Province of Upper Germany found hospitality for his exiled subjects, among them Gailland, in a Jesuit house in Oleggio near Novara in northern Italy. In 1848 with the Liberal revolutions brewing the position of the Jesuits became daily more precarious and some had already been sent to Austria. Over a score of years the provincials of Europe had been receiving requests for Jesuits from bishops in New Orleans, Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana, New York and Maryland. The opportunity to respond to the invitations was now at hand, consequently, a group of fourteen Jesuits was destined for New Orleans and another group of ten for Missouri. With the latter went Father Gailland. Both groups made their way through

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, Number 8, 138.

⁶ This brief biographical data is gathered from the Catalogues of the Jesuit Province of Upper Germany in the Jesuit Archives, Rome.

⁷ For the history of the Swiss Jesuit houses see Otto Plülf, S.J., *Anfänge der deutschen Provinz der neu erstandenen Gesellschaft Jesu und ihr Wirken in der Schweiz 1805-1847*, Freiburg i. Br., 1922, 490.

Savoy to France then to Marseille, where they weighed anchor for America in the beginning of March, 1848.⁸

Hoecken's "position of influence in the missionary activities centering around St. Mary's was destined to be filled by Gailland."⁹ At thirty-three years of age he was mature in the missionary spirit, completely given over to the vocation of caring for the Potawatomi, anticipating their needs, belligerent for their rights. In what became soon after his arrival the geographical center of the United States he gave himself selflessly to the civilization to the Red Man. Two apt quotations summarize his life:

He was a link between the old order of things and the new. He entertained the gold hunters passing on to California in 1849. He witnessed the stirring scenes at the birth of Kansas State, the burning of Lawrence and the border warfare. He saw the first towns rising up around St. Mary's in 1855 and beheld the first train move out on the Union Pacific in 1866. He was a spectator, from 1853 to 1858, of the repeated offers of the Government to divide and purchase the reservation. He saw the lands divided, and his poor Indians departing, and the white settlers rushing in to occupy the Garden of the West. He passed through the perils of cholera, small pox, famine and war many times over, endearing himself to the whites as well as the red men, by his heroic charity, sanctity and learning.¹⁰

Among all the Fathers at the mission, Father Maurice Gailland was held in particular veneration. He labored for the longest time at the mission and knew the language of the natives best. He was a man of heroic virtues, of remarkable self-sacrifice. At all times he attended to the wants of the Indians. Praying, silent, recollected in God, with gladness he approached every danger or trouble.¹¹

After six years as a Territory, Kansas was admitted to statehood on June 29, 1861. The Civil War interrupted briefly what was inevitable in the ways of the White man, the removal of the Potawatomi father south beyond the Kansas border into the open spaces of Oklahoma. By treaties in 1861 and 1867 the Indian reservation lands no longer were tribal property but the Indians were established as individual owners. As such they could do with their acres what they wished. Consequently, many sold their heritage for a mess of pottage, a horse, a wagon, a few hundred dollars. The Indians departed and scattered, until in 1876, a year before his death, Gailland estimated that not more than six hundred remained on the old reservation lands. The land sharks had profited enor-

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Garraghan, II, 631.

¹⁰ *The Dial*, I, Number 1, 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, Number 2, 6, and II, Number 6, 85.

mously and St. Mary's mission had practically passed away.¹² Gailland, still father to the Indians, had for years been caring for the incoming white settlers.

In the winter of 1871-1872 Gailland set out on a twenty-three mile trip to answer a call from a sick Indian. A short distance from the mission he broke through the ice of a river but continued on in frozen clothes, stayed overnight in the Indian's hut, and returned after twenty-four hours. The cold and exertion brought on a mild paralysis. He was handicapped somewhat for the rest of his days, but continued with his parish and Indian work. In June, 1877, he was summoned on a similar call to a place near Topeka. This time he took the train. Next morning a telegram notified St. Mary's that he had been stricken again. Brought back to the mission he lingered until August 12, 1877, when he died, clear of mind and peaceful of soul.¹³

Gailland's writings are bequests to history and are, according to Garraghan, capital sources for the study of the Potawatomi.¹⁴ He was the chronicler of the tribe. His diaries, letters, relations, historical sketches, and his "History of St. Mary's Mission," are excellent for their details. Some of his letters have been published in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, *The Catholic Mirror*, and in *Woodstock Letters*, while Garraghan has included six more in his work. The letters published in the *Annales*, dated November 13, 1851, and November 6, 1852, were addressed to "Messieurs les Membres des Conseile centraux de la Propagation de la Foi de Lyon et de Paris," and appeared in Volumes 24 (1852) and 25 (1853) of that periodical. These are respectively an historical sketch of the Potawatomi prior to their arrival in Kansas and shortly after the Jesuits took charge of them, and a description of methods being used to civilize and domesticate the Indians. The letters in *The Catholic Mirror* are translated into English; one of October 1, 1850, is addressed to Father De Smet, and the other of December 1,

¹² See Gailland's report in Garraghan, III, 61-62.

¹³ Garraghan, III, 64-65, has the account of Gailland's last days, and it is based on Brother Louis DeVriendt's manuscript "Life of Father Maurice Gailland." Garraghan, III, 8, has a picture of Gailland; the features are strong, the lower jaw heavy and square, the mouth wide and firm, the eyes sharp and straightforward, and forehead high and fringed with a mass of curly, unparted hair.

¹⁴ Garraghan, II, 631. In the many pages Garraghan devotes to St. Mary's and the Potawatomis, he relies greatly on Gailland and publishes at least ten of the latter's letters and other accounts, for which see II, 597-598, 602-604, 605, 610, 632-635, 641-643, 677-678, and III, 26-28, 49, 62.

1850, is to Monsignor Miège; they describe conditions and are similar in structure to the one present below.

Woodstock Letters in its Volume IV for 1875 published his "Observations on the Potawatomi Languages." Gailland was a student of the Indian tongue and of the fathers who attended the Potawatomi was the best acquainted with their language. This partly explains his great success and popularity with the tribesmen. He composed a "Dictionnaire et grammaire Pottowatomies" as well as a prayer book and catechism, which apparently were never printed. As a diarist of St. Mary's he wrote in Latin, and part of this has been published in an English translation in *The Dial of St. Mary's College*, Volume III, (1891-1892).

The external appearance of this letter may be noticed. It is written on a large sheet of paper folded so as to make four pages. The writing on one of these runs nine by eleven inches. The paper is thin, tinted blue, and is watermarked BATH in the upper left corner of what is marked page one. The fourth page was left blank for the address, and from the postmarks it is clear no envelope was used but the letter was sent according to the prevailing custom folded and sealed with lacquer, of which some traces remain. Gailland's handwriting is clear but tight, filling the page to within half an inch of the edge on the margin side.¹⁵ The three pages contain respectively forty, forty-seven, and fifty lines, averaging about thirty-five words to a line for a total of about 4,800 words. The style is chatty rather than formal as it would have been in official reports.

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¹⁵ A specimen of Gailland's handwriting is published in Garraghan, II, 606.

Father Gaillard's Letter

S^e Marie, mission des Potêwatêmis, le 5 Juin, 1854.

Mon Révérend Père,
P.X.

Nous vous remercions bien sincèrement de l'excellente lettre, que vous avez daigné nous écrire du centre de la catholicité; nous l'avons lue, relue, et, pour ainsi dire, dévorée, tant on est avide, sur le terrain sauvage, d'avoir des nouvelles de la vieille Europe! Tout en vous adressant nos humbles remerciements, nous sommes tentés, néanmoins, de vous faire un petit reproche; c'est d'avoir fermé votre lettre trop vite. Oh! Ne craignez pas, mon Père, une longue lettre, loin de nous fatiguer, ne répondra que mieux au désir brûlant, que nous avons, d'apprendre les combats et les triomphes de la foi, dans un pays, où tant de braves soldats s'arment pour la défendre.

Eh bien! Mon Révérend Père, pour que mon exemple vous encourage à nous donner, une autre fois, de plus amples nouvelles, je veux vous dire, aujourd'hui, au long et au large tout ce que notre mission peut fournir d'intéressant et d'édifiant. Je commence par l'endroit où nous habitons. Afin de mieux vous orienter, prenez une carte des États-Unis, la plus récente que possible. Remontez des yeux le Missouri, depuis St. Louis jusqu'au Kansas, un de ses principaux affluents, remontez encore le Kansas, l'espace de 100 milles (33 lieues); là, sur les bords de cette charmante rivière, dans une vallée des plus riantes, est bâti le village de S^e Marie, le plus considérable de la nation des Potêwatêmis; c'est là que réside Mgr. Miège, dans une humble cabane, à côté de sa cathédrale indienne; c'est aussi là que demeurent vos deux enfants spirituels d'Estavayer-le-Lac.

Le R. P. Durinck, notre Supérieur, est Belge de naissance; mais il est depuis plus de 20 ans en Amérique. Nous avons avec nous 7 Fr. Coadj. un Suisse, un Allemand, un Français, un Belge, un Napolitain et deux Irlandais. Il faut, ce semble, que toutes les nations contribuent au salut des Potêwatêmis. S^e Marie est à peu près au centre de la tribu. Nous avons 4 autres Eglises, ou plutôt chapelles, à déservir; celle de N. D. de 7 Douleurs à 18 milles et celle de S. Joseph à 20 milles, au sud du Kansas; au nord de la même rivière, nous avons la chapelle du Sacré Coeur, à 25 milles plus bas que S^e M^e et une autre, à 60 milles plus haut, au fort

Riley, sur la fourche républicaine. Voilà, mon R. Père, la partie de la vigne du Seigneur, au défrichement de laquelle nous devons travailler.

Quant à Mgr. Miège, son Vicariat comprend tout le Territoire indien, à l'Est des Montagnes Rocheuses; c.à.d., tout cet immense pays, borné au Nord par les possessions britanniques; à l'Est par le Minnesota, l'Iowa, le Missouri, l'Arkansas; au Sud, par le Texas et al Nouveau Mexique; à l'Ouest, par l'Utah et l'Oregon, vaste pays, qui, d'après les derniers calculs, contient environ 303.799 lieues carrées. Or, toute cette étendue de terre est ce qu'on appelle le Territoire indien, à l'Est des Montagnes, et forme le Vicariat apostolique de Mgr. Miège.

Ce pays, n'étant pas sous la loi des États-Unis est habité par une multitude de Tribus sauvages, indépendantes les unes des autres; ne reconnaissant d'autres lois que leurs caprices bizarres, et vivant dans ce bel état de nature, auquel certains philosophes voudraient ramener l'univers, si l'univers était assez sot pour accepter les oracles de leurs rêveries philosophiques. Aux yeux de l'humanité, mais, surtout, aux yeux de la foi, rien de plus digne de pitié, que le sort de ces peuples infortunés. Quel chaos de misères de toute espèce que la vie du sauvage! Quel affreux mélange d'ignorance et de corruption dans ces âmes, que les lumières de la foi n'ont jamais éclairés de leurs divins rayons, et que la Civilisation semble rougir de recevoir dans son sein! Quelle honteuse dégradation de la nature humaine! Là, le vol est en honneur, et celui qui pratique le brigandage avec le plus d'adresse, passe pour le plus brave de la nation. L'assassinat est une peccadille, qui s'efface par un petit présent. L'immoralité n'a pas de voiles et l'innocence ne peut faire un pas hors de sa cabane, sans devenir la victime de la plus adjecte brutalité. Là, l'ivrognerie est générale parmi les femmes aussi bien que parmi les hommes, et n'est jamais abandonnée de ses horribles satellites, le meurtre et l'adultère. Où trouver la fidélité conjugale, les liens sacrés de la famille, les ressources et le bonheur de la vie sociale? A qui vous adresser, pour forcer l'injustice à respecter vos droits? Où rencontrer un cœur compatissant, pour vous secourir dans vos infirmités? On a l'art d'ignorer jusqu'au premiers éléments de la miséricorde et de la pudeur; par ex., si la mort prive une femme de son mari, les parents du défunt viendront enlever à cette malheureuse absolument tout ce qu'elle possède, jusqu'à ses propres enfants; et, à moins qu'elle ne se rachète, elle devient elle-même leur propriété, leur esclave.

Le même sort attend le mari, s'il perd sa femme. Quoi de plus révoltant, que de voir un homme épouser, en même temps, toutes les filles de mêmes parents, comme cela se pratique chez les Kans et les Osages, nos voisins? Le poète avait bien raison de s'écrier: qu'à bon droit, Libertins, vous êtes, méprisables; lorsque, dans les forêts, vous cherchez vos semblables! Le tableau de tant de misères navre le coeur du missionnaire, qui sait que toutes ces âmes sont rachetées par le sang de J.C., et que des milliers d'entre elles n'attendent que la visite d'un prêtre charitable, pour entrer dans la voie du salut. Le R. P. de Smet nous écrit de St. Louis, que les Tribus, les plus voisines des Montagnes, ne cessent de le conjurer de leur envoyer des Robe-noires, pour leur apprendre à prier.

L'hiver passé, nous avons eu, à S^e Marie, la visite de 24 guerriers de la nation des Pônis, habituellement éloignés de nous de 300 milles. C'est une nation tout-à-fait sauvage, qui fut en guerre avec les Potêwatêmis, pendant les 3 premières années, que nous séjournâmes sur les rives du Kansas. Dans les commencements, le seul nom de Pôni, jetait la terreur parmi nos Indiens, ce qui fut la cause, que presque la moitié de nos catholiques, s'obstinèrent à ne pas venir habiter S^e Marie. Il y a 3 ans, les 2 nations ont fumé la paix, et le secours, que nos gens ont prêté aux Pônis, l'Été dernière, lorsque ceux-ci furent assaillis par les Comanches et les Sioux, acheva de cimenter entre eux la paix et al concorde. Ces guerriers sont restés 10 jours à S^e Marie, ils ont reçu de nos Indiens toute sorte de présents; ils ont visité l'église et les écoles, et leur chef me fit signe, qu'il aurait désiré que nous fissions chez les Pônis, ce que nous faisons chez les Potêwatêmis. Ils partirent, laissant 2 ou 3 jeunes gens, pour apprendre le Potêwatêmis; l'un d'eux fréquente notre école. Jusqu'ici, les sujets et les ressources pécuniaires ont totalement manqué, pour évangéliser tant de peuplades différentes. Nous n'avons encore que deux missions, l'une chez les Potêwatêmis, et l'autre chez les Osages. La distance des lieux et la différence complète des idiômes, ne permettent guère au même missionnaire de soigner plus d'une Tribu. Prions Dieu, Mon R. Père, pour qu'il envoie bientôt de dignes laboureurs, dans toutes les parties de sa vigne non encore défrichée, et que chacune de ces nations sauvages ait le bonheur d'avoir un Robe-noire, et d'entendre en sa propre langue l'explication de nos divins mystères.

Peut-être le jour n'est-il pas éloigné, où la Providence va faire éclater ses desseins de miséricorde en faveur de ces peuples infortunés, et ce sera le Gouvernement des États-Unis, qui servira

d'instrument à l'exécution des divins conseils. Désormais, les voies de communication seront facilitées, et les missionnaires pourront pénétrer plus aisément au milieu de tant de nations infidèles, qui, bientôt peut-être, seront forcés d'accepter la loi des États-Unis et de vivre avec les Blancs. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que la condition de tous ces Indiens sera bientôt totalement changée. Le Gouvernement, fondé par l'illustre Washington, marche vers son agrandissement avec la rapidité de l'aigle; il achète des royaumes, au lieu de les conquérir par les armes, comme font les autres nations; chaque année il s'enrichit d'un nouveau Territoire, équivalant à un empire, qu'il achète des Indigènes, à un prix modique, comparativement à ses trésors, qui débordent. Ainsi, ce sont formés successivement, depuis peu d'années, les États du Michigan, du Missouri, de l'Arkansas, de l'Indiana, des Illinois, du Wisconsin, de l'Iowa, et les Territoires unis du Minnesota, de l'Utah, de l'Oregon, de Washington. Actuellement, ses possessions vont de l'Océan Atlantique à l'Océan Pacifique, et lui ouvrent les portes du commerce avec toutes les parties du monde. Le Territoire Indien, dont je viens, plus haut, de tracer les limites, placé au centre de l'Union, embarrasse les opérations du Gouvernement général, coupe les voies de communication des États de l'Est avec ceux de l'Ouest. Il faut à toute force que cet obstacle disparaisse, et que les chemins de fer traversent le continent américain de l'Atlantique au Pacifique.

Dans ce but, on a proposé, cette année-ci, au Congrès un bill (projet de loi), ayant pour objet, de traiter avec toutes les Tribus indiennes, pour l'achat de leurs terres, et pour l'organisation de deux Territoires *unis* sur le Territoire indien, savoir, les Territoires de Kansas et de Nebraska. Vous n'ignorez pas qu'un Territoire uni est le commencement d'un État. Des qu'un Territoire uni est organisé, on y nomme un Gouverneur; on soumet à la loi de l'Union tous les habitants du Territoire; on vend successivement les terres au premier venu, jusqu'à ce que les ressources et le nombre des habitants permettent d'élever le Territoire au rang d'État. Le bill, dont je viens de parler, a passé sans beaucoup de contradiction dans le Sénat; mais, dans la Chambre des Représentants 3 voix ont manqué, pour obtenir la majorité en faveur du bill. La question de l'esclavage est l'unique cause, qui a fait échouer le projet de loi; ou plutôt, qui en ait fait différer l'acceptation. Vous savez, que la République des États-Unis, est composée d'États libres, c.à.d., où l'esclavage est interdit; et d'États esclaves, c.à.d., où l'esclavage est légalement admis. Or, parceque, dans le bill, il était question de

laisser aux habitants respectifs des nouveaux Territoires la liberté de décider, si ce seraient des États libres ou non, les Députés des États libres ont, pour la plupart, refusé de voter le bill, s'appuyant sur cette raison, que, lors de l'admission du Missouri, ont avait solennellement juré de ne pas étendre l'esclavage à de nouveaux États. Mais, notre position précaire n'est probablement prolongée que d'une année. Il est bien certain que la question des deux Territoires de Nebraska et du Kansas, reviendra sur le tapis à la prochaine Session du Congrès; tout le monde convoite les terres où nous vivons; de toutes les parties de l'Union s'élève ce cri: anéantissez les titres des Indiens, et le Gouvernement est contraint d'employer la force, pour repousser ceux des Blancs, qui se sont déjà précipités sur les terres sauvages, en dépit de ses menaces. Ainsi, vous le voyez, mon R. P., l'avenir ne nous offre pas plus de sûreté qu'à vous; comme vous, nous voguons sur un Océan plein de tempêtes, à la merci d'une Providence, qui éprouve, mais ne délaisse jamais ses serviteurs. *Non habemus his manentem civitatem*, les uns et les autres nous pourrions bien être condamnés à voyager un peu plus que nous ne voudrions; soit, pour expier nos fautes, soit aussi, afin d'avoir plus de ressemblance avec notre divin Maître, exilé des son enfance.

Quant à ce qui nous regarde, nous missionnaires chez les sauvages, après que le Kansas et le Nebraska auront été érigés en Territoires unis, que deviendrons-nous? Si les Potêwatémis se soumettent à la loi, nous resterons, où nous sommes à présent, mais alors que d'obstacles, que d'embarras de toute espèce! S'ils n'acceptent pas la loi, ou plutôt, si on ne veut pas qu'ils l'acceptent, nul doute qu'il ne nous faille plier la tente, et chercher une autre terre hospitalière; mais, où irons-nous? Au Nord? Au Sud? A l'Est? A l'Ouest? Dans quel désert nouveau va-t-on nous conduire? Nous sommes bien décidés à suivre nos Néophytes, partout où l'on voudra. Nous regretterions cependant S^e Marie; notre position est, on ne peut plus, avantageuse, sous bien des rapports. Veut-on un pays sain? Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait d'endroit, dans tous les États-Unis, où l'on respire un air plus pur et plus salubre. Désire-t-on un terrain fertile? Il est difficile d'en trouver de comparable à celui-ci; tout ce que l'on confie à la terre, produit réellement au centuple. Veut-on de l'encouragement pour l'industrie et le travail? Nous voici sur le chemin de la Californie et de l'Orégon, que suivent, tous les Printemps, des milliers de voyageurs; comme sur un grand marché, où l'homme actif et industrieux peut vendre cher les fruits de ses

sueurs; p. ex., un pont, ouvrage d'une semaine, rapportera dans l'espace de 3 mois jusqu'à 2000 fr. Ajoutez à cela d'immenses prairies, qui permettent à chaque famille d'élever tel nombre d'animaux qu'elle veut. Je viens de demander à un Indien, que j'ai fortement réprimandé, il y a 3 ans, par ce qu'il était à peu-près toute l'année absent, ne vivant que de la chasse, combien il avait de vaches. 27 Têtes, me répondit-il; le reste allait en proportion. Il ne peut assez me remercier des bons avis que je lui ai donnés. C'est un bon catholique; aussi Dieu le bénit-il.

Enfin, les chasseurs trouvent ici de quoi satisfaire leur passion pour la chasse; les prairies, à certaines époques de l'année, fourmillent de cailles, de *kiwâniyêk* (poules errantes), de canards, d'oies, de dindes, de cygnes; plus loin, vous avez des troupeaux de chevreuils et d'élans; dans les bois, vous rencontrez presque à chaque pas l'*Espên* (espèce de blaireau) et l'*Ayêni*, aussi grand et plus gras que l'*Espên*. Le long des rivières, vous avez le *Chechkô* (rat musqué), la loutre, et l'intelligent castor, qui se bâtit des maisons de bois, cimentées avec de la boue, et cela avec tant d'art, d'ordre, de solidité, qu'on les prendrait pour l'ouvrage de l'homme. On trouve aussi une espèce d'animal, appelé *Mesékôk*, ou *Kókwetchis*, ressemblant à un pourceau. Il vit dans les tanières. Les rivières et les lacs abondent en poissons et en tortues. A quelques journées d'ici, les plaines sont couvertes de buffles. Pour les Tribus des Montagnes, qui ne cultivent pas un arpent de terre, c'est l'unique source de vie. Nos Indiens ne vont à la chasse du buffle, qu'en petit nombre, et pour 3 ou 4 semaines, après avoirensemencé leurs champs. Ils en reviennent, les chevaux chargés de viande séchée près du feu.

L'an passé, le plaisir de la chasse a failli se terminer en un deuil amer, par une rencontre, qu'ils ont eue avec les sauvages des Montagnes. Les Sioux et les Comanches étaient venus attaquer les Pônîs, alliés des Potêwatêmis. Ceux-ci, sans délibérer, volent au secours de leurs amis, et, après un combat de 5 ou 6 heures, mirent en fuite les agresseurs, qui laissèrent sur le champ de bataille de 20 à 30 hommes, et un plus grand nombre de chevaux. Les vainqueurs ne perdirent que 8 de leurs guerriers, 7 Pônîs et un Potêwatêmi; ils eurent plusieurs blessés. Les Potêwatêmis infidèles revinrent en triomphe, allèrent aux différents villages danser la chevelure, danse qui portait l'empreinte de leur barbarie primitive. Chaque guerrier étalait avec orgueil aux yeux de la Tribu ou une chevelure, ou un membre enlevé aux ennemis, tombés dans la

bataille; alors recommençait la danse, accompagnée de chants, ou plutôt de hurlements sauvages.

Je ne vous parlerai pas des lapins; ils sont si communs, qu'on n'en fait presque pas de cas. Quand il neige, un garçon en prend une 10^e en une matinée. Il y a encore ici un animal, qu'on nomme *Pchâw*, fort semblable à un chat, sinon, qu'il est plus effilé. Il ne fait pas la guerre à l'homme, il n'attaque que les petits animaux domestiques. Sur les bords du Missouri, à 100 milles d'ici, il y a des Panthères, mais en petit nombre; gare au voyageur isolé dans les bois! Au Sud, sur les bords de l'Arkansas, il n'est pas rare de voir des chat-tigres, plus dangereux, dit-on, que la Panthère. Il arrive souvent que des esclaves fugitifs, s'aventurant dans ces forêts épaisses, tombent victimes de leur férocité. Cet animal n'attaque jamais l'homme en face; il guète sa proie, comme le chat fait la souri, prend le voyageur à l'improviste, le mord au talon, et, après l'avoir terrassé le met en pièces. Parmi les oiseaux, outre ceux que j'ai nommés, il en est d'autres aux couleurs les plus saillantes, dont j'ignore les noms. J'ai vu des perroquets, tout-à-fait semblables à celui, qui criait à Belfaux: *Jocquot, pantalon*. Mais, de tous les oiseaux, que j'ai vus dans ce pays, le plus admirable, c'est sans contredit le colibri; ce n'est pas sans raison, que M^r de Buffon l'appelle le bijou de la nature. Nos Potêwatêmis l'appellent: *Nônôkâ*, c.à.d., oiseau, qui suce en volant, en effet, on ne le voit jamais se reposer; lors même qu'il est occupé à boire le nectar des fleurs, comme l'abeille, ses ailes sont toujours agitées et bourdonnantes. On en a conservé assez. long-temps dans des cages; mais il faut les nourrir avec du miel. Ils ont leurs nids collés à des feuilles d'arbres. A côté de ses beautés, la nature présente aussi ses horreurs; cette contrée fourmille de serpents. Les plus dangereux, sont le serpent à sonnettes, et le *Metékenâtowê* (serpent de bois); à moins d'un prompt remède, leur poison est mortel.

Que la Providence est admirable! Les sauvages connaissent plusieurs plantes, qui sont un antidote efficace contre le venin de ces reptiles. J'en ai vu l'expérimenter plus d'une fois depuis que je suis dans ce pays. L'année dernière, un de nos Indiens, se levant pendant la nuit, et marchant, pieds nus dans sa loge, fut piqué à la plante du pied par un *Metékenâtowê*; l'effet de la douleur fut tel, qu'il se cru piqué en même temps à l'autre pied et à la gorge. A l'instant même il vomit et tombe évanoui. Aussitôt, ses compagnons de loge de lui lier fortement la jambe, pour empêcher le venin de gagner le reste du corps, et de lui appliquer le remède qu'ils

ont appris de leurs pères. Le lendemain, notre sauvage pouvait déjà marcher; mais il eu pendant quelques jours la jambe noire et enflée. Je ne connais que deux de ces plantes; l'une, que l'on nomme la racine noire; on se contente de la mâcher et de l'appliquer sur la morsure. Un jour, l'idée me prit d'en essayer le goût; j'eus presque à me repentir de mon imprudence; pendant une $\frac{1}{2}$ heure je fus continuellement occupé à cracher l'eau, dont ma bouche se remplissait coup sur coup, si copieuse était la salivation, qu'on aurait dit qu'elle allait me dessécher entièrement le corps. L'autre plante a de larges feuilles, d'un côté rudes, de l'autre fort tendres; on les fait bouillir dans de l'eau, dont on lave fréquemment la plaie. Les Indiens m'assurent que c'est le remède le plus efficace contre la morsure des serpents.

J'oubliais de vous parler d'une des curiosités du pays, de l'arbre à sucre. Au commencement de Février, les sauvages font une petite entaille au tronc des érables, qui sont ici de gros arbres; ils recueillent l'eau, qui en sort quelque fois avec abondance; la font bouillir dans de grandes chaudières, jusqu'à l'évaporation complète; le résidu est un sucre d'un goût exquis. Je connais certaines familles, qui, dans l'espace de 2 mois, ont fait du sucre pour la valeur, au moins, de 700 fr.—

Que vous dirai-je de nos Indiens? J'en ai parlé assez au long dans ma seconde lettre au Conseil de la Prop. de la Foi: j'espère que ma lettre aura été publiée dans les Annales. Je ne veux donc pas répéter, ce que j'en ai dit, l'année précédente; seulement, j'ajouterai que, de toutes les Tribus environnantes, celle des Potêwatémis a fait le plus de progrès vers la civilisation. Dans son habitation, dans sa manière de vivre, dans son application au travail; dans ses habitudes sociales et domestiques, le Potêwatémi se rapproche de plus en plus des Blancs. Nous comptons, parmi eux, un bon nombre de fervents catholiques, et ce qui ne nous donne pas une petite consolation, il ne se passe presque pas de semaine, sans, que nous n'ayons quelque Infidèle à instruire; j'en vais baptiser 3 cette semaine. Les Chrétiens, étant les plus nombreux, donnent actuellement le ton à la Tribu. Ils font tomber en discrédit les superstitieuses pratiques de leurs frères encore payens; ceux-ci ne peuvent venir dans notre village, sans qu'ils soient exhortés de la manière la plus éloquente à se faire Chrétiens. Il n'y a pas plus de 5 mois, un de nos Néophytes, qui va toujours à la recherche de ses frères égarés, en a amené 12, au saint baptême. Ils sont tous, grâce à ces puissantes exhortations, plein de piété et de ferveur.

Les hérétiques ont établi une mission parmi les Potawatémis, dans l'intention de ruiner la nôtre; mais, jusqu'ici, ils n'ont pas fait la conquête d'une seule âme. Nous avons une église dans l'endroit même, où ils ont établi leur camp; et toutes les familles du village, excepté deux qui sont payennes, ont embrassé la foi catholique. Les Dames du Sacré Coeur font beaucoup de bien par la bonne éducation, qu'elles donnent à leurs écolières. Les Métis sont ceux, qui nous donnent le plus de tablature; chez beaucoup d'entre eux l'orgueil est égal à l'ignorance; leur dépravation n'a pas de nom; ils vendraient leur âme pour une citrouille; ils ressemblent à ces mulets rétifs, qui s'obstinent à ne vouloir pas passer un ruisseau; si vous les prenez doucement par la bride, ils se cabrent; si vous les tirez par la queue, ils reculent impertinemment; si vous vous avisez de faire usage du fouet, ils vous lancent des ruades.

Je craindrais de vous ennuyer en vous parlant de la langue des Potawatémis. C'est une langue originale, étrangère du tout au tout aux langues d'Europe, elle n'a point d'adjectif; elle est riche, expressive, harmonieuse; elle a des mots d'une longueur extrême, comme p. ex.: *Kânikânekekênetâmekôkepênênek*, les prophètes.

Le R. P. Schulz, après avoir évangélisé les Allemands de Quincy et de Westphalie et les Français de Cahokia, dans les Illinois, est venu partager mes travaux sur le Territoire indien; il parle bon anglais; il prêche tous les 15 jours en cette langue dans l'église de S^e Marie, et, désormais ira tous les mois au fort Riley, faire des instructions aux soldats catholiques. Il a été malheureux dans sa 1^{ère} expédition, au mois de Mai, après avoir marché toute une journée, ne sachant plus le chemin, il fut contraint de passer la nuit dans une forêt; le cheval, effrayé de la solitude se sauva. Impossible à lui de le retrouver. Ayant couru longtemps dans le désert, portant son petit bagage sur les épaules, il eut le bonheur de recontrer un Blanc, qui lui prêta son cheval, pour revenir à S^e Marie, où il arriva le lendemain épuisé de faim et de fatigue.

Vous savez que Mgr. Miège, en revenant d'Europe, a failli périr dans l'océan avec tous ses compagnons de voyage; le Hombold, à bord duquel ils se trouvaient, est venu se briser contre les côtes d'Halifax, grâce à la fourberie d'un pêcheur, qui s'est donné pour pilote au Capitaine du vaisseau. A peine eut-il le gouvernement du navire, qu'ignorant la route, il le jeta sur des rochers. Heureusement, qu'étant près du port, tous les passagers purent se réfugier dans des barques, accourues à leur secours. Pour surcroix de bonheur, les Nêtres, qui avaient emballés leurs effets dans la partie de devant

du navire, la dernière à s'enfoncer, sauvèrent tout ce qu'ils apportaient, sans éprouver la moindre perte.

Mon R. Père, voilà que j'ai tenu parole; je vous ai écrit une longue lettre sur tout ce que j'ai cru devoir vous intéresser. Je vous en conjure, priez pour nos Néophytes; priez pour les missionnaires, afin qu'ils ne s'oublient pas eux-mêmes, en voulant sauver les autres. Si vous en avez l'occasion, veuillez présenter mes humbles respects aux RR.PP. Chappuis, Geofroi, Minoux et Rothenflue, mes anciens et bien aimés Supérieurs, aux prières de qui je me recommande instamment; saluez aussi de ma part le P. Peters. Le P. Schulz vous salue très affectionnément.

Mgr. Miège vous présente ses respects, ainsi qu'aux PP. Lacroix et Franzlin. Écrivez sans délai, nous vous en prions, sur l'état de la religion et de la Compagnie dans toutes les parties de l'Europe. Aurons-nous bientôt quelque nouvelle béatification? Quand célébrerons-nous la fête de 40 Martyrs, Azevedo et Comp., etc. etc. Une longue, longue lettre de nouvelles religieuses je vous en supplie.

Votre très humble serviteur et frère en J. C.

MAUR. GAILLAND, S.J.

Translation

St. Mary, Mission of the Potawatomes
June 5, 1854

MY REVEREND FATHER,
The Peace of Christ:

We thank you very sincerely for the excellent letter that you have deigned to write from the center of Catholicity; we have read it, reread it, and devoured it, so to speak, so avid are we in this savage land to have news of old Europe!¹ All those addressed in your letter are humbly grateful to you, but we are tempted nevertheless to offer a little reproach: that is, you ended your letter too soon. Oh, do not fear, Father, that a long letter would tire us too much, and do not reply that it would be better to have a burning desire, which we have, to undertake the combats and the triumphs of the faith in a land where so many brave soldiers are armed to defend it.

Well, my Reverend Father, in order that my example may encourage you at another time to give us more ample news, I am going to tell you today at length everything our mission can furnish in the way of interest and edification. I shall begin with the place where we live. To orientate yourself better, take a map of the United States, the most recent possible. Fix your eyes on the Missouri River, from St. Louis to the Kansas River, one of its main tributaries; follow the Kansas for a distance of 100 miles (33 leagues); there, on the banks of this charming river, in a valley of many smiles, is located the village of St. Mary, the largest of the Potawatomi nation; here resides Monsignor Miège² in an humble cabin beside his Indian

Note. This translation is by Jerome V. Jacobsen. The footnotes are those of Father Jacobs.

¹ Alexander Vivier, S.J., *Nomina Patrum ac Fratrum qui Societatem, Jesu ingressi in ea supremum diem obierunt 7 Augusti 1814—7 Augusti 1894*, Paris, 1897, no. 3908. In this compilation of Jesuit names we find that Francis Xavier Huber was born in Munich in 1801, entered the Society of Jesus in 1837, and died in Rome in 1871.

² John Baptiste Miège was born September 18, 1815, at Albertville, Savoy, France. In 1836 he entered the Society of Jesus in the Province of Turin, and by 1848 had finished his theological studies and was ordained priest in Rome. In June, 1848, he departed from Antwerp on the *Providence* for the United States accompanied by forty-four other Jesuits of the Province of Upper Germany. He taught briefly at St. Louis University before making a trip through the Indian lands. In March, 1851, he was appointed Vicar Apostolic over the whole Indian Territory between the

cathedral;³ here also your two spiritual sons of d'Estavayer-le-Lac sojourn.⁴

Father Durinck, our Superior, is Belgian by birth, but he has been in America more than twenty years.⁵ There are seven coadjutor brothers with us: a Swiss, a German, a Frenchman, a Belgian, a Neapolitan, and two Irishmen.⁶ It seems that all the nations are contributing to the salvation of the Potawatomes. St. Mary is almost the very center of the tribe. We have four other churches, or chapels, to serve. These are Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows eighteen miles and St. Joseph twenty miles to the south of the Kansas. On the north of the same river we have the chapel of the Sacred Heart twenty-five miles below St. Mary⁷ and another sixty

Rocky Mountains and the Missouri-Iowa state lines, with the designation of Bishop-Elect. By order of Pope Pius IX he was consecrated Bishop in St. Louis, March 25, 1851. He chose the Mission of St. Mary's as his first residence, where he arrived on May 31, 1851; August 9, 1855, he left St. Mary's for his new see in Leavenworth, Kansas. He went to Rome in 1853 and on his return in March, 1854, suffered the shipwreck mentioned at the end of this letter. Miège resigned from his bishopric in 1874 and died at Woodstock College, Maryland, on July 21, 1884. Biographical data on him is in Vivier, 5978; Pfülf, 504 *The Dial*, III; Garraghan, II, and III, has much about his administration; Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, *John Baptist Miège, S.J., 1815-1854*, Volume 24 of the Publications of the United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1934, is the best biography.

³ This "pro-cathedral" was of logs, gave place to the stone building in 1875; *The Dial*, I, number 1, 6, and II, number 8, 138. It was the first formal church in Kansas and even in the plains area designated as the Indian Territory.

⁴ The other spiritual son was Fr. John Schultz (1816-1887), an Alsatian, who was superior of the Mission for a time and a master of the Potawatomi; he also wrote a grammar of that tongue; Garraghan, II, 678-683.

Estavayer-le Lac (Stäffis) was in west Switzerland. It was one of the houses taken by the Swiss Government during the "Sonderbundskrieg"; its history is given in Pfülf.

⁵ John Baptist Duerinck (1809-1857) as superior of St. Mary's from 1849 till 1857. In December of that year while on one of his many missionary journeys he was drowned in the Missouri River near Leavenworth when a flat-boat transporting six men upset; two others likewise drowned: Vivier, 2226; Garraghan, II, 675.

⁶ In Gaillard's "Annals of St. Mary's" as in *The Dial*, III, 138, eight lay brothers are listed, the eighth another Frenchman; according to Vivier's list, this latter number seems more correct for the year 1853-1854. These Jesuits were all-important to the mission, serving as cook, carpenter, janitor, sacristan, refectorian, farmer, tailor, infirmarian, and school director. Garraghan, II, 683 ff., singles out especially Brother Peter Karleskind who was prefect and teacher of the Indian boys for fourteen years prior to his death in 1862; Brother Sebastian Schelienger, an ex-soldier, who took care of the domestic affairs; Brother Andrew Mazzella, for twenty years infirmarian and doctor for the Indians; Brother Louis de Vriendt, music teacher, sacristan, biographer of Gaillard, who worked thirty-one years at St. Mary's.

⁷ On Soldier Creek.

miles above at Fort Riley at the Republican fork. There you have the plan of the vineyard of the Lord which we must labor to clear.

As for Monsignor Miège, his Vicariate takes in all the Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains, that is to say, all this immense country bordered on the north by the British possessions, on the east by Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas, on the south by Texas and New Mexico, vast lands, which according to the last calculation consisted of about 303,799 square leagues. Now all this expanse of land is what they call the Indian territory, east of the Mountains, and it forms the Vicariate Apostolic of Monsignor Miège.⁸

This land is not under the law of the United States and is inhabited by a multitude of savage tribes independent of each other. They recognize no laws except their bizarre caprices, and, living in the beautiful state of nature, to which philosophers would wish to restore the universe, if the universe were so foolish as to accept the oracles of their philosophical dreams. To the eyes of humanity, but especially to the eyes of faith, nothing is more deserving of pity than the lot of these unfortunate people. What a chaos of miseries of all kinds is the life of the savage! What a hideous mixture of ignorance and corruption in these souls which the lights of the faith are never illuminating with their divine rays and which Civilization seems to be ashamed to receive in its heart! What a deep degradation of human nature! Robbery is held in honor and that one who practices brigandage with the greatest ingenuity passes for the bravest of the nation. Murder is a peccadillo, washed away by a small gift. Immorality is not disguised and innocence cannot take a step out of its cabin without becoming the victim of the basest brutality. Drunkenness is general among the women as well as among the men and it is never separated from its horrible satellites—death and adultery. Where is to be found conjugal fidelity, the sacred bonds of the family, the helps and the happiness of social life? Whom do you address to stop injustice and to respect your rights? Where can you find a compassionate heart to succor you in your infirmities? They have an art of ignoring even the first elements of pity and decency; for example, if death deprives a woman of her husband, the parents of the deceased set about taking from the unfortunate woman absolutely everything that he possessed,

⁸ This included Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming and Colorado. It was designated as an Apostolic Vicariate by Pope Pius IX, July 19, 1850.

even his own children, and to prevent her from redeeming them they make her their property, their slave. The same lot falls to the man if he loses his wife. What is more revolting than to see a man marry, at the same time, all the daughters of his own parents, as is the practice among the Kansas and the Osage, our neighbors? The poet would have good cause to cry: With good reason, Libertines, are you despicable when you seek out your kind in the forests! The picture of such misery rends the heart of the missionary who knows that all these souls are redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ and that thousands of them do not look forward to the visit of a charitable priest to lead them along the way of salvation. Father De Smet wrote us from St. Louis that the tribes closest to the Mountains do not cease begging him to send them Black Robes to teach them to pray.⁹

During the past winter we have witnessed at St. Mary the visit of 24 warriors of the Pawnee nation living at a distance of 300 miles from us. This nation is altogether savage and was at war with the Potawatomi during the first three years we were on the Kansas rivers. In the beginning the very name Pawnee spread terror among our Indians, which is the reason why nearly half of our Catholics obstinately refused to come to live at St. Mary. In the last three years the two nations have been smoking the peace pipe,¹⁰ and the aid which our people gave to the Pawnees last spring when they were attacked by the Comanche and Sioux, served to cement peace and concord between them. These warriors are camping ten days from St. Mary and they are receiving all kinds of presents from our Indians; they visit the church and the schools, and their chief has signified to me that he would like to have us do for the Pawnees what we have done for the Potawatomi. They departed leaving two or three youngsters to learn Potawatomi; one of these attends our school. Until now the manpower and the financial resources are totally insufficient to evangelize so many different peoples. We have not more than two missions, one among the Potawatomi, the other among the Osage. The distance to the places and the complete difference in their language hardly allows the same missionary

⁹ Father Peter De Smet (1801-1873), famous in the annals of the West as a traveller, writer, peace-maker, and missionary, first visited the Potawatomi in 1838 and founded the Jesuit mission station at Council Bluff. He visited St. Mary's in October, 1851, as Gailland relates in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Tome 25, 369.

¹⁰ Peace had been made chiefly through the efforts of Gailland, according to De Vriendt, and was renewed during the hunting season of 1852; *The Dial*, III, 89-90.

to take care of more than one tribe. Pray God, my Reverend Father, to send worthy laborers soon into all parts of His vineyard not now cultivated and that each of these savage nations will have the happiness to have a Black Robe and understand in his native language the explanation of our divine mysteries.

Perhaps the day is not far when Providence is going to make clear its plans of mercy in favor of these unfortunate people, and it will be the Government of the United States that will serve as the instrument for executing the divine counsels. From now on the roads of communication will be facilitated and the missionaries will be able to penetrate more easily to the heart of so many nations who will perhaps soon be forced to accept the law of the United States and live with the Whites. This much is certain, that the condition of all these Indians will soon be totally changed. The Government founded by the illustrious Washington moves toward its completion with the speed of an eagle; it purchases realms, instead of conquering them with its armies as other nations do; each year it enriches itself with some new Territory, the equivalent of an empire, buying it from the Indians at a moderate price from an abundant treasury. Thus there were formed successively within a few years the States of Michigan, Missouri, Arkansas, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and the Territories of Minnesota, Utah, Oregon and Washington.¹¹ Actually, its possessions go from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean and its ports of commerce are open to all parts of the world. The Indian territory, whose limits I have tried to trace above, located in the center of the Union, hampers the operation of the general Government, cutting the lines of communication between the States of the East and those of the West. This obstacle is bound to vanish and the railroads will traverse the American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. With this aim in view there is this year proposed in Congress a bill having as its object to treat with all the Indian tribes for the purchase of their lands and for the organization of two united Territories in the Indian territory, that is the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska.¹²

¹¹ The dates of statehood of each were: Michigan, 1837; Missouri, 1821; Arkansas, 1836; Indiana, 1816; Illinois, 1818; Wisconsin, 1849; Iowa, 1846; Minnesota, 1858; Utah, 1896; Oregon, 1859; Washington, 1889.

¹² Gaillard writes in his "Annals of St. Mary's": "This year, 1854, will impress a deep mark, for good or bad, on the history of this region. A Senator from Illinois, the Hon. Stephen Arnold Douglas, has introduced a bill to organize the Kansas-Nebraska Territory, west of the Missouri River; and the bill has passed Congress and became a law. The time is rife with changes of great moment; and our Reservation is already surrounded with colonists, who are daily moving in to occupy the land." Kansas entered the Union in 1861 and Nebraska in 1867.

You are not unaware that a united Territory is the beginning of a State. As soon as a united Territory is organized they name a Governor; they impose the law of the Union on all inhabitants of the Territory; they sell successively the lands to the first comer until the resources and the number of settlers permit the Territory to be elevated to the rank of a State. The bill of which I am speaking, passed without any objection in the Senate, but in the House of Representatives three votes are needed to obtain a majority in its favor. The question of slavery is the special cause preventing the project from becoming a law, or better, deferring its acceptance. You see, the Republic of the United States is composed of free States, namely, where slavery is interdicted, and slave States where slavery is legally permitted. Now, because, in the bill, it was a question of allowing the respective inhabitants of the new Territories the liberty of deciding whether the States should be free States, the Representatives from the free States are, for the most part, refusing to vote for the bill, giving this as their argument that since the admission of Missouri they are solemnly bound not to extend slavery to the new States. But our precarious position will probably not be prolonged for a year. It is very certain that the question of the two Territories of Nebraska and Kansas will be brought up for debate in the approaching session of Congress; everybody covets the lands where we live; the cry goes up from all parts of the Union: destroy the titles of the Indians, and the Government is constrained to use force to drive these back from the Whites, who are already rushing on the savage lands in spite of their threats. So you can see, my Reverend Father, the future offers us no more security than it does you; like you, we voyage on an ocean full of tempests at the mercy of a Providence which tries but will not abandon its servants.¹³ "We have here no lasting city;"¹⁴ we all would perish were we condemned to travel a little more than we would not wish; so be it, to expiate our faults, so be it also to have at last more resemblance to our divine Master, exiled from His infancy.

With respect to our surroundings, we missionaries among the savages, after Kansas and Nebraska will have been made into united Territories what will become of us? If the Potawatomis submit to the law we will remain where we are now, but in that event what obstacles and trouble of every sort! If they do not accept the law, or

¹³ From these words one may surmise that Huber's letter to Gaillard painted the situation of the Church and the Jesuits in Europe with dark colors.

¹⁴ Hebrews, 13:14.

rather if the Government does not see that they accept it, no doubt this will oblige us to fold our tent and seek another hospitable land; but where will we go? North? South? East? West? To what new wilderness will it lead us? We are very set on following our neophytes wherever it is required. We will be sorry however to leave St. Mary; our position is in many respects advantageous; one cannot find a better. Does one want a healthy land? I do not believe that he will find a spot in the whole United States where he can breathe a purer or healthier air. Does one desire a fertile soil? It is difficult to find one comparable to this; anything you plant really returns a hundredfold. Does one wish encouragement for industry and work? Here come thousands of travellers following the trail to California and Oregon all spring, like a great parade, to whom an active and industrious man can sell the fruits of his sweat; for example, a bridge, the work of a week, reported an income of nearly 2,000 francs in three months. Nearby are vast prairies which allow each family to raise as many animals as it wishes. I was asking an Indian, whom I had roundly reprimanded three years ago because he had been away almost a whole year and had not gone on the hunt, how many cows he had. 27 head, he replied; the other animals were in proportion. He could not thank me enough for the good advice I had given him. He is a good Catholic; thus God blessed him.

In fact the hunters find here everything to satisfy their passion for the chase. The prairies at certain times of the year abound with quail, prairie chickens, duck, geese, turkeys, and swans; moreover you have herds of deer and elk; in the woods you encounter at nearly every step *l'espen*, a species of badger and *l'ayêni*, larger and fatter than the badgers. Along the rivers there are the Chechkō (muskrat) the otter, the intelligent beaver, who builds houses of wood, cementing them with mud, and this with such art, order, and solidity that you would think it was the work of man. You find also a kind of animal called Mesekōk or Kókwetchis, resembling a pig. He lives in dens. The rivers and lakes are full of fish and turtles. A few days journey from here the plains are covered with buffalo. For the tribes of the mountains who do not cultivate an acre of land this is the only source of life. Our Indians do not want to go on the buffalo hunt, except a few and for 3 or 4 weeks after they have sowed their fields. On their return their horses are loaded down with meat dried by fire.

Last year the joy of the hunt missed terminating in bitter grief

through a chance meeting they had with the savages of the Mountains. The Sioux and Comanches had come to attack the Pawnees, allies of the Potawatomis. The latter without deliberating flew to the aid of their friends, and after a combat of 5 or 6 hours beheld the aggressors in flight leaving on the field of battle 20 or 30 men and a greater number of horses. The conquerors lost only 8 warriors, 7 Pawnees and one Potawatomi; there were many wounded. The infidel Potawatomis returned in triumph, going to different villages to dance the scalp, a dance that bears the mark of their primitive barbarity. Each warrior displays with pride before the eyes of the Tribe either a scalp or enemy taken in battle; then the dance begins, accompanied by chants, or rather, savage howlings.¹⁵

I should not mention the rabbits to you. They are so common that they have almost no value. When it snows a boy can take ten of them in an afternoon. There is another animal here called the Pchâw,¹⁶ very like a cat but thinner, which does not attack a man but only small domestic animals. On the banks of the Missouri 100 miles from here there are panthers in small number; look out lone traveller in the woods! To the south on the banks of the Arkansas it is not unusual to see tiger-cats, more dangerous they say than the panther. It often happens that fugitive slaves venturing into these impenetrable forests fall victims of their ferocity. This animal does not attack men from the front; he stalks his prey like a cat does a mouse, catching the traveller off guard, biting his heel and after throwing him down chewing him to pieces. Among the birds other than those I have named there are others of striking color whose names I do not know. I have seen some parrakeets exactly like those sold at Belfaux: parrot, pantaloons.¹⁷ Still, of all the birds I have seen in this land the most admirable without contradiction is the humming-bird, and not without reason did M. de Buffon¹⁸ call it the jewel of nature. Our Potawatomis call it

¹⁵ The "Annals of St. Mary's" tell the same story in fewer words. The Potawatomi and Pawnee won the battle and the Sioux left the field. The Pawnee then planned a raid on the Sioux camp to steal ponies. The Potawatomi indignantly rejected the proposal. In the battle only one Potawatomi was killed but the Pawnee lost many more than seven killed or wounded. The pagan Indians enjoyed the revelries of the scalp dance, while the Christian Indians went home; *The Dial*, III, 121.

¹⁶ Weasel or mink?

¹⁷ Belfaux is a small village west of Fribourg in Switzerland. Near the village was a country villa which served as the outing place every Thursday for the boys of the College of St. Michael. Among the amenities of the villa, mentioned in Pfälf, was this parrot, or parrot shop; Pfälf, 171-172.

¹⁸ The French naturalist, Comte Georges Louis Leclerc de Buffon, 1717-1788.

Nonoka, that is, bird which sucks while flying; in fact you never see it in repose. When it is occupied drinking nectar from the flowers like a bee its wings are always agitated and humming. One can keep them a fairly long time in cages but they must be fed honey. Their bills stick to the leaves of the trees.

Alongside these beauties nature presents its horrors also. This country teems with serpents. The most dangerous are the rattlesnake and the wood viper [copperhead?] and without prompt remedy their poison is fatal. How admirable is Providence! The Indians know many plants which are efficacious antidotes to the venom of these reptiles. I have seen the experiment more than once since I have been here. Last year one of our Indians arose during the night and walked barefoot to his lodge; he was bitten on the sole of his foot by an adder; the effect of the pain was such that he stabbed himself on the bare skin of the other foot and in the neck. Instantly he vomited and fainted. Immediately his companions in the lodge bound his leg tightly to prevent the poison from spreading to the rest of his body and they applied the remedy to him that they had learned from their fathers. Next day our brave could walk again but for many days the leg was black and swollen. I do not know the names of two of these plants; one they call black root; one is content to chew it and apply it to the bite. One day I got the idea to taste it; I was soon to repent my imprudence; for an hour and a half I was continually spitting out the water which filled my mouth time after time, so copious was the saliva, so that one might say I was going to dehydrate my body completely. The other plant with large leaves, rough on one side and very soft on the other, they boil in water with which they bathe the wound frequently. The Indians assure me that this is a very potent remedy against the bite of snakes.

I forgot to tell you of one of the curiosities of the land, the sugar tree. In the beginning of February the savages make a little gash in the trunk of the maples, which are big trees here; they collect the water from this each time in abundance, then boil it in huge cauldrons until it is completely evaporated; the residue is a sugar of exquisite flavor. I know certain families who in the space of 2 months make on the sale of their sugar at least 700 francs.

What shall I tell you of our Indians? I have already spoken at length in my second letter the Council of the Propagation of the Faith and I hope my letter will be published in the *Annales*.¹⁹ I do

¹⁹ See remarks on this in the Introduction.

not wish to repeat what I said in it last year, only, I will add that of all the surrounding tribes the Potawatomi has made most progress in civilization. In his dwelling, his manner of life, his application to work, his social and domestic habits the Potawatomi approaches the Whites more and more.²⁰ We count among them a good number of fervent Catholics, and, that which gives us no small consolation, hardly a week passes without our having some new pagan to instruct; I am baptizing three this week. As the Christians are more numerous, they give a tone to the tribe. They bring into discredit the superstitious practices of their brethren still pagan; the latter cannot come to our village without being exhorted in the most eloquent manner to become Christian. Not more than five months ago one of our neophytes, who was always going in search of his misguided brothers, fetched in 12 for holy baptism. They are all, thanks to these powerful exhortations, full of piety and fervor. The heretics have established a mission among the Potawatomis with the intention of ruining ours, but until now they have not won a single soul.²¹ We have a church in the same opening where the Indians have their camp, and all families of the village, except two who are pagans, embrace the Catholic faith. The Madames of the Sacred Heart do very well for the good education they give their students.²² The half-breeds are the ones that give us the most trouble; with nearly every one of them his pride is equal to his ignorance; their depravity has no name; they would sell their souls for a pumpkin; they are like stubborn mules who balk and will not cross the stream; if you take them gently by the bridle, they rear up; if you drag them by the tail, they fall back insolently; if you make use of the whip, they will let fly with their heels.

²⁰ According to *The Dial*, III, 34, Fr. Duerinck in 1851 induced Bishop Miège to choose St. Mary's Mission as his residence for the reason that the Potawatomi were "the foremost of all the Indians under his jurisdiction, both in civilization, in purity of manners and in steadfastness in the faith."

²¹ In 1850 Gaillard had written: "A Baptist minister . . . set up a church and school in St. Joseph's village . . . ; all the Superintendent's efforts to win converts have been thus far fruitless"; *The Dial*, III, 2. A note on the history of St. Mary's says: "St. Mary's is a place where a rival school was tried three times, and met ever time with a dismal failure"; *The Dial*, I, number 1, 7.

²² The Dames du Sacré Coeur, founded in 1800 by St. Sophie Barat, and officially approved in 1826 by Pope Leo XII, had started their teaching activities in America in 1818 and eagerly went into the newly established missions of the West. In November, 1851, their school, staffed by four religious women, counted 72 girls, all boarders. "L'école des Dames du Sacré Coeur excite l'admiration de tout le monde," wrote Gaillard in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Vol. 24, 231, and Vol. 25, 369.

I fear it would be boring to you if I were to talk of the Potawatomi language. It is original, altogether foreign to the languages of Europe with never an adjective; it is rich, expressive, harmonious; it has words of extreme length, as for example Kânikânekekênetâmekôkepênênek, meaning the prophets.

Father Schultz, after having preached to the Germans of Quincy and of Westphalia and the French of Cahokia in Illinois is come to share my labor in the Indian Territory;²³ he speaks good English and he has preached all fifteen days in that language in the Church of St. Mary; and afterwards he will go for a month to Fort Riley to give instructions to the Catholic soldiers. He has been unfortunate on his first expedition in the month of May; after having walked a day's journey, not knowing the way, he was obliged to pass the night in a forest. His horse frightened by the solitude ran away and it was impossible to find him. When the father had wandered a long time in the wilderness carrying his own small baggage on his shoulders he had the good luck to meet a White who loaned him a horse to return to St. Mary, where he arrived next day exhausted by hunger and fatigue.²⁴

You know that Monsignor Miège on the return voyage from Europe almost perished in the ocean with all his companions. *The Humboldt* on board which they happened to be, came to a crash on the coast of Halifax, thanks to the deceit of a fisherman who foisted himself on the captain of the vessel as a pilot. Scarcely had he control of the ship before he ignored the course and threw it on the rocks. Happily they were near port and all the passengers were able to take refuge in the barks sent to their rescue. On the happier side our Fathers who had packed their belongings in the fore of the ship, the last to sink, saved all they brought without losing the least thing.²⁵

²³ A German colony existed at Quincy, Illinois, on the Mississippi, and at Westphalia or New Westphalia, Missouri, at the confluence of the Osage and Missouri Rivers.

²⁴ In his *Annals*, published in *The Dial*, III, 139, Gaillard corrected the description of this incident: "A Father was sent [to Fort Riley] who could speak German and French and English. But his first trip was unfortunate. The beast he rode shied at a bridge. Four farm hands came to his assistance. In vain did they pull and push and beat and coax the animal. . . . The father tied him to a tree and spent the night in the woods. While the rider was sleeping, the horse struck for liberty. The next forenoon was spent in a fruitless search for the stubborn brute. Finally the father walked home without seeing Fort Riley."

²⁵ Garraghan, III, 1, says that Miège and De Smet were the only two Jesuits on the ship; the wreck happened on December 6, 1853, and one box containing five chalices and two ostensoria was lost.

There, my Reverend Father, I have kept my word; I have written you a long letter about everything I believed would interest you. I beg you to pray for our neophytes; pray for the missionaries so that they will not forget themselves in wishing to save others. If you have occasion would you present my humble respects to the Reverend Fathers Chappuis, Geofroi, Minoux, and Rothenflue, my old and well loved superiors, to whose prayers I earnestly recommend myself; salute also for me Father Peters.²⁶ Father Schultz greets you very affectionately.

Monsignor Miège sends his regards to you and also to Fathers Lacroix and Franzlin.²⁷ Write soon, we beseech you, concerning the state of religion and of the Company of Jesus in all parts of Europe. Will there be soon any new canonizations? When will be celebrate the feast of the 40 martyrs, Azevedo and his companions, etc., etc., ? I beg you for long letter of religious news.

Your very humble servant and brother in Jesus Christ,

MAURICE GAILLAND, S.J.

²⁶ Louis Chappuis (1802-1867) had been regent as Estavayer when Gailland was there. Aloysius Geoffroy (1793-1870) was Gailland's master of novices and later his rector at St. Michael's College. Antonie Minoux (1804-1884) as Provincial of the Province of Upper Germany was ready to aid the American missions at all times and sent ten missionaries including Gailland to America in 1848; Garraghan, I, 525, omits the name of Gailland. Franz Rothenflue (1805-1869) was the most learned of the professors who taught Gailland. "Peters" was the assumed name of Father Joseph Kleutgen (1811-1883), famed for his *Ars Dicendi*, a handbook of eloquence used in Jesuit colleges until this beginning of this century, and for his *Philosophie der Vorzeit* and *Theologie der Vorzeit*; Gailland was with him at Fribourg from 1836-1839. These biographical data are from Vivier, 3268, 3613, 5986, 3565, 5694; Pfülf, 201-209, 153, 182, 221, 235, 490, 426, has longer accounts of these former associates of Gailland.

²⁷ Augustin Delacroix (1791-1873) was Rector of the German College at that time; Vivier, 4103. John Baptist Franzelin, then professor at the Roman College, was made a cardinal in 1876.

Book Reviews

Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier. The Edmond Atkin Report and Plan of 1755. Edited with an Introduction by Wilbur R. Jacobs. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, S. C., 1954. Pp. xxxiii, 108. Illustrated. \$5.00.

In the *Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier* source material has been made more readily available to the historian, as well as to the specialist in Indian lore. Atkin's Report and Plan presents both a first hand account of the activities and characteristics of the various Indian tribes in the pre-revolutionary South, as well as a colonial's candid opinion of the Indian trade with a comparison of the French and English approach to this commercial enterprise.

Atkin, in his Report, reveals a definite anti-French feeling but at the same time, manages to give credit where it is due. He discusses certain aspects of the French and Indian trade which warrant attention. From this account it would appear that the French were without question better traders than their white brothers, the English. Probably the one thing which accounts primarily for the success of the *coureurs des bois* was their continuous interaction with the aborigines.

Not only did the French sell the Indians guns and other supplies, but they went a step further and serviced free of charge the equipment purchased by the natives. A service department was a necessary adjunct to a successful trading station, and the French were not slow in recognizing this fact. When an Indian found that his firearm would no longer function, he would visit the gunsmith, who after a short time would return the rifle in fine working order. The owner, who quite frequently became attached to his gun for sentimental reasons, would leave with a gladdened heart, and a higher regard for his French friend. An antecedent of the "Point Four Program" was producing favorable results!

Atkin further reported to the Board of Trade that the French distributed their gifts very discriminately. The old sachems and men of influence were usually the recipients who in turn would attempt to impress the Indian youth in favor of the Bourbon's subjects. In contrast, Atkin related how the English traders not only ignored the older Indians and catered to the youth, but also how the British had given little consideration to goodwill and the prevention of abuse on the part of the trader.

This lengthy report, about one-half of which is introductory material, includes some interesting sidelights on the habits and characteristics of the Indians that were in any way connected with South Carolina. The Choctaws, Cherokees, Catawbias, Creeks, and others all come in for their share of credit or criticism, as the case may be, and not too infrequently is there a discerning comparison of the various tribes. The specialist in Indian affairs will be made cognizant of this aspect of the Report.

In his Plan, Atkin, as an aspirant to the position of Indian superintendent, suggested that there be two districts, a Northern from Nova Scotia to Virginia, and a Southern, consisting of the Carolinas, and Georgia. One might question at this point whether Atkin purposely left Virginia in the Northern district in order to enhance his chances of appointment in the Southern, where South Carolina was in a predominant position.

Atkin also recommended in his Plan of 1755 the establishment of service repair units, the use of "Able bodied Men *Convicts*" in the western forts and trading posts, and the encouragement of miscegenation between whites and Indians. He further suggested that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts send a missionary to each fort with the additional duty of acting as commissary and storekeeper, for which services he was to receive extra compensation. There were at this time only about six missionaries in both Carolinas and more than one preacher would have gladly welcomed this plan for increasing their subsistence income. As a result of this communication with the Board of Trade and his knowledge of Indian politics, Atkin was appointed to the position of superintendent. His successes and failures in that position make another story to be related elsewhere.

Editor Jacobs is to be complimented on his penetrating research which is the basis of this publication. His approach has been scholarly throughout the book, which is well documented and annotated. The index which covers the Report and Plan, as well as the editor's introduction is a definite asset. A bibliography at the end would have been useful. The format of the book is quite ideal with the possible exception of the type, which appears to be uncomfortably small. However, with the high cost of printing today, and the relatively high price of this book, the finished product is probably the best that could be produced under the circumstances.

CHARLES B. HIRSCH

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The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870-1884. By Reverend Peter J. Rahill. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1953. Pp. xi, 396. \$4.25.

This book narrates the history of Grant's Indian peace policy and the activities of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, established in 1873, in its efforts to combat the objectives of the Grant policy, which were in effect to drive the Catholics from the Indian mission field.

As many corrupt and incompetent men—"whiskey sellers, barroom loungers, debauchees"—had entered the Indian service during the Civil War years, Congress, as early as 1865, determined to "clean up" the Bureau of Indian Affairs. President Grant, in response to Quaker and Protestant promptings, in 1869 created a Board of Indian Commissioners, whose membership included philanthropic men, who were concerned with the lot of the

Indians within our borders. Reservations, at the instance of this Board, were allotted to Protestant and Quaker sects in such number that of the thirty-eight, to which Catholics had just claims, eight only were assigned to them.

Stung by this injustice, certain western bishops, unselfishly and greatly aided by General Charles Ewing, the first Director of the Catholic Bureau, urged the creation of a *bureau de liaison* in the national capitol to represent the interests of their Church there before Congress, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Catholic Indian Missionary Associations (bands of fifteen, whose members agreed to contribute annually one dollar each for the support of the missions) were organized and fostered by Mrs. W. T. (Ellen Ewing) Sherman in many eastern cities and contributed not a little to such successes as the Bureau at Washington and the missionaries in the field enjoyed. While these matters are justly celebrated by the author, the fact remains that both personnel and financial support for the missions in those days came principally from Europe. Accordingly, most of the historical matter for a history of these missions must also be found in Europe. Nowhere in his book does the author mention the biography of Bishop Martin Marty, O.S.B. (Einsiedeln: 1934); nor was the correspondence at Einsiedeln and in the archives of the *Oeuvre Apostolique* . . . at Paris and Lyons about Sioux missions of Marty consulted. The book then is at best a pioneering work and at worst an excursion into a field of study wherein the author's preparation was inadequate. He has attempted to do what cannot be done: to write a history of a movement, largely staffed and financed from Europe, from American archives exclusively. It simply cannot be done.

Father Rahill has, however, stigmatized the illiberal and bigoted attitude toward all things Catholic of Hayt, of Delano and of Schurz. The former said flatly that the Catholic teachers were of as much importance to the Indians "as a feather of a particular color"; while the latter, a Liberal emigrant from Germany, looked to book-learning for the regeneration and civilization of the Indians. Delano insisted that Indian agents, as federal appointees, must support the policies of the Grant administration. The Protestant ministers, those bold critics of an authoritarian Church and protagonists of the doctrine of separation of Church and State, accepted without "protest" this alliance of the Protestant Churches and the Grant administration. Justly did Archbishop Bayley repudiate such "fascist" principles in the name of liberty. In calling these matters to the attention of American historians, Father Rahill has pointed the way to a fresh study of this interesting period and has thus done a real service to historical science. The book, unfortunately, is marred by several errors of fact and by a few of typography. The Sisters' school at St. Ignatius (Montana), for example, is placed at Stevensville, eighty-five miles to the south; and Father Frederick Eberschweiler, S.J., is Fred Verschweiler, S.J., on p. 99, n.66. Surely, such mistakes could easily have been avoided.

LYLE DAVIS

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Stormy Ben Butler. By Robert S. Holzman, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1954. Pp. xvii, 279. Illustrated. \$5.

Here you have portrayed a character among characters whose biography long needed doing. It is no small feat to have accomplished what Professor Holzman has done, that is, to write an objective history of a national figure whose very presence gave rise to violent contention and whose turbulent career has developed so many controversies. Throughout the book and its excellent last chapter, "Benjamin Butler—An Appreciation," the author holds his reader in the same mood of objectivity, hearing the evidence as a judge mostly in open-mouthed amazement at the multitude of activities of this quick-acting man, this bizarre figure who could have been an outstanding hero of the nation but for his lack of legal, moral, and political principles.

In Butler's way of thinking there were no compromises on any issue. He was immediately and unalterably for or against a program or project, always to his own advantage. Singly, the people, politicians, presidents, the press, each was likewise for or against General Butler. His will to quarrel generated strife first in Massachusetts, then in New England, in political parties, in government circles, and even overseas with foreign countries. He fought vigorously, venomously and unscrupulously, and in every legal and political battle aligned on his side glorifiers and on the other vitupifiers. Recounting Butler's deeds and misdeeds in terse style, Professor Holzman leaves it to the reader to judge if the world would have been better without a Ben Franklin Butler, and the majority would probably wish he had not appeared on the national scene. His career, according to the *New York Post*, "has a place in history, but to the American youth it teaches the not unpleasant lesson of what should be avoided." (P. xii).

Butler was born in Deerfield, Massachusetts (not New Hampshire), November 5, 1818, and died suddenly in Washington on January 11, 1893. He was the sixth of his father's children and the third by a second wife. Within three months his father, off on a privateering or piratical trip to the West Indies, died, leaving the family in want. Moving to the industrializing Lowell, his mother opened a boarding house and tried to educate her problem child. Refused an appointment to West Point Ben nurtured a huge hatred of the place, studied law, and at twenty-two was practicing in Lowell, bent upon making money. This he did in abundance over a period of fifty-three years, winning many cases by reason of his knowledge, sharpness, and vast memory. After ten years he moved to Boston where he became more prominent, even among renowned barristers, for his ability and lack of ethics. Having the power of money he sought power in politics, running for governor of Massachusetts seven times, generally sponsoring radical and hence minority ideas.

The Civil War presented him with opportunities beyond those of the local and state politics. He craftily borrowed money to transport troops from Boston, forced himself in as head of the State Militia, moved his troops south, started the bloodshed in his capture of Baltimore, and through various connivings became astonishingly "Maj. Gen. Commanding the Dept. of Virginia" at Fort Monroe. His war deeds are almost unbelievable. Despite almost comical, or tragical, mismanagement, he took Fort Hatteras and 670

prisoners, dashed by stolen freight engine with the Assistant Secretary of Navy to the sleeping White House, and broke the news of a Navy victory to Lincoln clad in his nightshirt. From Lincoln he got leave and returned to Lowell to a hero's ovations. He then wrote to Lincoln that he had an ambition, "and I trust a laudable one, to be Major General of the United States Army. Has any body done more to deserve it?" Brazenness and politics brought him the appointment to command the military phase of the New Orleans expedition, and he added the naval to his control. The "conquest" of the city, and the welter of astounding events attending his military rule are told in dramatic chapters, which give reasons sufficient for the South's hatred of him.

Butler's hatred of the South established him high in the ranks of Radical Republicans and a leader in the move to impeach Johnson. Nowhere does Butler appear in a meaner light, nowhere is he more unattractive. He opened the case against Johnson with a four hour speech and was described as "a man whose large pudgy body seemed literally bursting out of his extraordinary swallow tail coat, exposing a broad expanse of not too immaculate linen, and whose massive bald head with its little fringe of oily curls. . . . There was power in the man's coarse, big-featured face, force and aggressiveness in every line, but his curiously ill-mated eyes with their half-closed lids, his hard mouth and small, drooping mustache, all combined to create an uncomfortable impression of cunning and insincerity, and his whole personality was unattractive." Such a man then inferred that Johnson had killed Lincoln.

The book should be read as an instruction on all that a lawyer and politician should not be. Professor Holzman finishes his work with a fine bibliography of source materials and the most recent published research on the period under consideration.

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Notes and Comments

They will never, it seems, get tired of publishing laudatory and uncritical articles and books about Simón Bolívar, to say nothing of collections of his letters. Keeping Bolívar before the eyes of North Americans seems to be a promotional scheme of the business interests of Venezuela which are so closely tied in with oil interests in this country. Consequently, there is apparently an abundant budget in Venezuela for publicizing its first dictator, provided the writings about him are favorable.

The latest publicity, unless something is added before this note is printed, is a batch of letters, to Bolívar rather than from him, in two volumes. The title is *Bolívar y su Época* and the volumes are Numbers 10 and 11 of Publications of the General Secretariat of the Tenth Inter-American Conference, History Collection. The prologue to these letters of famous people to Bolívar is by the Bolivarophile, Dr. Vicente Lecuna, and the selections are presented by Manuel Pérez Vila. According to the latter there is no doubt about the purpose of the publication. "The present selection prepared with the purpose of exalting the eminent figure of Bolívar, aspires also to be a sincere homage to many illustrious personages who signed the documents contained in these pages." This expression characterizes what has been parading in the livery of scholarship with respect to Bolívar for several score of years.

This naive attempt to exalt what is assumed to be "the eminent figure of Bolívar" appears amusing when reduced to terms of logic. The argument would be: Anyone who receives letters signed by men in the public eye, must be a great man; but Bolívar received letters from many very prominent personages; therefore, Bolívar was a very great man. To prove the minor statement, here are the signatures of Andrew Jackson, Daniel O'Connell, George Canning, Henry Clay, Baron von Humboldt, San Martín, De Witt Clinton, Jeremy Bentham, and a host of contemporary Latin American revolutionaries.

What were the contents of these letters from great men to the great man? The "document" signed in the volume by General Andrew Jackson is a five line excerpt from a political speech delivered in New York in 1825 in which Jackson says that Bolívar has liberated Colombia. There are two signatures of George Canning, chosen to illustrate how much he thought of the great Bolívar. One is an ex-

cerpt from a speech in Parliament in 1825 in which Bolívar, not mentioned by name, is noted as having gone to Peru, and Canning thinks Colombia should be recognized lest the Spanish troops return and take it. The other selection is a letter of Canning to Bolívar introducing the British representative to Colombia. On the face value of the verbiage a naive person might think Canning is commending Bolívar for not interfering in Bolivia, Brazil, and Argentina; but your diplomat would immediately read beyond the words and know that Canning was warning Bolívar to stay out of those areas of British interest. Another example of this type of misrepresentation appears in the note introducing one of the two letters of Henry Clay, then Secretary of State. Pérez Vila picks out of the official jargon Clay's expression "the genius of a great and virtuous man" as an illustration of what Clay actually thought of Bolívar. But these words are followed by others in which Clay warns Bolívar in diplomatic terms against extending his conquests, saying that he always admired the frankness of Bolívar and now in frankness he cannot help mentioning that "your enemies have attributed to Your Excellency ambitious designs, which causes me great uneasiness of mind." In other words, Clay's letter, rather than exalting the genius of Bolívar, tells him that he is falling into disfavor with the United States. Other examples of misinterpretation abound.

Many of these letters have already been published in *Memorias de General O'Leary* and some are in other collections. Since O'Leary depended for his livelihood on Bolívar as secretary and Boswell, most of the correspondence detrimental to Bolívar and his dictatorship found no place in O'Leary's files or *Memorias*. So too, in this pair of volumes only letters with nice words for the hero are selected and translated from the original English or French into Spanish. At the end of the volumes there are short biographical sketches of each of the letter writers.

The true story of Bolívar and the emancipation period in Latin America is never going to be written as long as students depend upon collections of printed materials such as this and upon such published official British and official American papers as have been constantly quoted in studies as though they are exact reproductions of the original documents. Scholars must scrutinize the originals and must be wary of what the O'Learys and other collectors, the British Foreign Office, and our Department of State publish as the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

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Why Dictators? The Causes and Forms of Tyrannical Rule Since 600 B. C., by George W. F. Hallgarten, was published by Macmillan last April (379 pages, \$5.50). The questions proposed in this work are: What conditions in a society, sociological, political, and economic, give an individual the opportunity to get all power? What are the general forms or patterns of dictatorships? What shall we do to save civilization from the existing dictators? Dr. Hallgarten brings his knowledge of history, sociology, and international politics into play for his analysis of the conditions out of which tyrants emerged in one of the four following forms: the "classical" or benevolent dictatorships; the "Ultra-revolutionary" or communist; the "Counter-revolutionary" or military; and the "Pseudo-revolutionary" or Nazi-Fascist. The discussion of examples of these fill three parts of the book, while the fourth part takes dictatorships in the present world classifying them according to the said forms. The individual dictators from 600 B. C. to Franco, Perón, Mao, Tito, Malenkov, Naguib, are not subjected to psychoanalysis but blanketed as needing it. The sociological aspects are based chiefly on Max Weber's theory of making the laws of sociology fit historical realities rather than vice-versa. Society is divided into the nobility, the money powers, and the have-nots of the city or country. To stream-line the thought, one of these three groups to maintain itself backed an individual who emerged as a dictator to rule more or less benevolently over all. Some hope emerges at present by reason of the rise of the common man, but the big danger is, of course, world dictatorship.

* * * *

To commemorate the expeditions of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry to Japan in 1853 and 1854 *Chicago History* (Winter, 1953-1954) carried an article by its Editor, Paul Angle, entitled "Perry Opens Japan to the World." On the front cover is a picture of the Commodore and the pages are illustrated by five pictures of phases of the expedition. For the same purpose of commemoration the *Pacific Historical Review* (August, 1954) published "Religion, Morality, and Freedom: The Ideological Background of the Perry Expedition," by William L. Neumann. The author admits that the basic objective of the Perry mission was economic, but shows from the contemporary press that there was strong opinion in favor of having American Christian missionaries do something to save the Japanese from the depraved state of beliefs and morals into which

they had sunk. Traders and whalers were glad to have some religious justification for opening the ports of Japan, and politicians were happy to offer some excuse for an invasion of the hermit empire and for the possible extension of our power to the far Pacific area. Neumann thinks that the religious groups were sincere in their belief that Japan should be civilized whether she wished it or not. To this observer the whole expedition was a typical example of the policy of end justifying means, which lured us into so much trouble from the end of the last century. In the same number of the *Pacific Historical Review*, George Beckmann shows how Japan took to the principles of the West in his "Political Crises and the Crystallization of Japanese Constitutional Thought, 1871-1881."

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A recent addition to the list of published doctoral dissertations of The Catholic University of America is *The Irish Catholic Benevolent Union*, by Sister Joan Marie Donohoe, S.N.D. The paper-bound volume of 230 pages is an endeavor to determine the influence of the said Union, "the first national organization of English-speaking laymen in the United States," on the social and political life of American Catholics in the post-Civil War period. The Union appears to have been the undertaking of a few idealists who sought to strengthen Catholic cooperation while attaining goals in the field of social welfare. Projects based on the philosophy of self-help included an insurance program, immigration plans, and a colonization scheme. None was destined to lasting success, which might have been anticipated as a logical consequence of lack of efficient leadership and internal well-coordinated operation. The Union collapsed shortly after World War I. The primary sources for the study were the published constitutions, by-laws, and proceedings of the local branches of the Union, and Catholic newspapers and periodicals. The conclusion is that the Union played no great part in national development but aided somewhat in "the emergence of the Irish into full participation in American life."

Another of the dissertations is *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon Region, 1614-1693*, by Mathias C. Kiemen, O.F.M. The purpose is not to give an account of the missions in the vast area but rather to trace the official Portuguese policy toward the Indians of the north of Brazil, where the French, Dutch and Portuguese were rivals in the exploitation of the land. This is a phase of the long struggle for the laboring hands of the Indians which took place between mis-

sionaries and exploiters during colonial times all over the Americas and ended up with the suppression of the Jesuits and the secularization of their missions and the Franciscan missions. A large part of the legislation for the Amazon area was instigated by Father Antonio Vieira who fought for the freedom of the natives against raiders, slavers, and corrupt officials.

* * * *

Wisconsin historians and the many fine local historical societies of the State, headed and inspired by the Wisconsin State Historical Society, have outdone themselves in promoting the cause of history by statewide celebrations of the centennial of the foundation of the State Library and its founder Lyman Draper. *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Summer, 1954, has on its front cover a picture of the beautiful Library, in front of which is parked the long *Historymobile* of the State Historical Society that carried an exhibition through the State. Within the pages of this number are pictures of the exhibit and an article, "Lyman Draper, Founder of a Great Library," by G. H. Doane. The magazine is exceptionally attractive. In addition to these activities the vitality of the State Historical Society is manifested by the publication of four works, one, already well known, Dr. Hesseltine's *Pioneer Mission*, the story of Lyman Copeland Draper, another, *A Century of Banking in Wisconsin*, by Dr. Theodore A. Anderson, the third, *William Freeman Vilas, Doctrinaire Democrat*, by Horace S. Merrill, and last, *James Duane Doty: Frontier Promoter*, by Alice E. Smith.

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"Minnesota 100 Years Ago," by Francis Paul Prucha, S.J., is the leading article in the Summer, 1954, *Minnesota History*. This is a description of "The North Star State" from the narrative of Laurence Oliphant's book of a hundred years ago, *Minnesota and the Far West*. Oliphant, a noted English traveler and writer, was a sharp observer and an "enthusiastic reporter of Minnesota's potentialities."

While on this subject of Minnesota mention should be made of the James Ford Bell Room in the Library of the University of Minnesota which was dedicated and opened to the public on October 30, 1953. The room is a replica of an Elizabethan library, housing an outstanding collection of rare books pertaining to the age of discovery with special strength in materials on the exploration of Eastern

Canada and the Great Lakes region. John Parker has been named the Curator.

* * * *

Marygrove College, Detroit, published this year the product of the studies of its students on the recently canonized Pope Pius X. This work, *St. Pius X*, follows the high standards set by its annual predecessors. There are fourteen studies by undergraduate girls, each with its bibliography, while at the end of the book there is assembled an excellent collection of source materials and general works on the pontificate of the "Pope of peace." From the viewpoint of cooperative historical work in college classes this annual effort at Marygrove College tops anything we have seen.

* * * *

"Cold War Against the Yankees in the Ante-Bellum Literature of Southern Women," by Robert LeRoy Hildrup, appeared in *The North Carolina Historical Review* last July. This indicates the remarkable number of Southern women who used their literary talents to condemn Northern Puritanism, abolitionists, money craze, discourtesy, loose morals, disrespect for the sacredness of marriage, slave labor conditions, erroneous and strange religious cults, un-Americanism, and other abuses of Black Republicanism.

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One of the more interesting contributions in *The Journal of Southern History* for May, 1954, is Douglas H. Maynard's "Plotting the Escape of the *Alabama*." James D. Bulloch of Georgia, a retired Navy officer and chief Southern naval agent in London, is given credit for designing the ship for the Laird Brothers, supervising her construction, obtaining a commander and crew, and moving it to the Azores, where the command could be shifted to the Southern officers a mile beyond the Portuguese jurisdiction. What the Northerners did about it is told by the same Mr. Maynard in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of May, 1954, in the article "Union Efforts to Prevent the Escape of the *Alabama*."

* * * *

From time to time a pastor with a flair for history gathers materials of his parish and presents them in the form of a booklet, which, though local in its appeal, becomes a source book for those who write broader accounts. One such pastor is Reverend Martin

Nahstall and one such brochure is his historical sketch of St. Mary-of-the-Woods parish and schools in Whitesville, Kentucky. This was recently published as *A Souvenir* of the Golden Jubilee Celebration of the continuous teaching done there by the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. The illustrations and data used in the sixty pages are only part of the materials for the parish which is now 110 years old.

* * * *

"The American Revolution Seen Through a Wine Glass," by Richard J. Hooker, appeared in the January, 1954, *William and Mary Quarterly*. It is very interesting to note how the tenor of the toasts changed; "loyal healths" to the king, to Pitt, and to the Parliament, became worded patriotically to "The downfall of Tyrants and Tyranny," and to "The men who will part with Life before liberty." The toast became a "most fertile instrument" of propaganda. So also did songs, according to Arthur M. Schlesinger in his "Note on Songs as Patriot Propaganda, 1765-1776," in the same number of this *Quarterly*.

* * * *

Montana Magazine of History in its Spring, 1954, number features "A Portfolio of the Art of E. S. Paxson, including Two Essays and Many Reproductions of a Much Neglected Frontier Artist." K. Ross Toole writes the essay on the artist and Michael Kennedy evaluates his art. The reproductions are in color, and with other illustrations, especially in the pages of the article on Edwin Thompson Denig, add to the beauty of the magazine and to the historical value of the papers.

* * * *

South Dakota Historical Collections and Report, Volume XXVI, 1952, appeared in late 1953. It contains: "Sanborn County History," by S. S. Judy and Will G. Robinson, illustrated, in 180 pages; "Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River," with special reference to Yankton and vicinity, by Ralph E. Nichol, in forty pages; "The History of Fort Sully," by Steven Hoekman, in fifty pages; "The Trail of the Ancient Sioux," by W. E. Sanders, in 145 pages; "Promoters and Promotion Literature of South Dakota Territory," by William H. Russell, in twenty pages; "Digest of Reports of the Commission of Indian Affairs," by Will G. Robinson, for the last seventy pages, which is to be continued.

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MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXXVI

INDEXER'S NOTE

Names of the contributors are in small capitals; titles of articles in this volume are in quotation marks; titles of books and periodicals reviewed or mentioned are in italics. Book reviews are entered under author and title of book, and under the name of the reviewer; no entries are made for subject of the book except in the case of biographies. The following abbreviations are used: tr., translator; ed., editor; revs., reviews; revd., reviewed.

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